The CRISIS

DECEMBER, 1949

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Dear P.M.,

I don't know whether you're Mr., Miss, or Mrs. But the way you holler, rant and scold, you must be a man. However, man or woman, I don't want you messing up my Christmas copy of The Crisis with your reproving, reviling, rebuking and castigating because some people are too lazy to get a subscription for The Crisis.

Bless my soul, I can't think of anybody, and I mean anybody who couldn't get a subscription for The Crisis if they tried just a little. And why shouldn't they try? How are we ever going to get a Civil Liberties Bill and a Fair Employment Bill passed in the U. S. Congress and make this a better place to live in, unless we read The Crisis and find out what's being done, what can be done, and help do it.

You know, I think just that little thing, that being too lazy to go out and get a subscription for The Crisis is an indication of why we haven't overcome more of the suppression that's heaped on us. Why don't we all get up and do. You know, I'm so mad about this I could get up and "Simon Legree" every one of us lazy people.

Do I have to detail the numberless embarassments (and sometimes worse) that we are made to suffer daily in order to make some folks move?

Now I must repeat the best way to be informed on what's doing, what's being done, and how you can help is by reading The Crisis. So you read it, get someone else to read it, and be the informed one in your circle of friends.

Now P.M., here are three subscriptions for The Crisis. My renewal and two that I solicited from my friends. So don't rant in the Christmas issue.

Merry Christmas to you all at The Crisis and the NAACP.

Sincerely,
Mrs. H. M. Groding

Well, in that the lady has said all that we hoped we could say we shall remain speechless for the nonce. Thank you Mrs. H. M. Groding, and Merry Christmas.

Sincerely,
P.M.

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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IN THIS ISSUE

December, 1949

COVER
Worship of the Magi—*Bouret Audiere*
DOES THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WANT THE NEGRO VOTE?—*By Arnold Aronson and Samuel Spiegler* 364
MERRIAM, KANSAS: SINCE THE PARENTS FOUGHT—*By Franklin H. Williams* 370
HAMPTON INSTITUTE INAUGURAL CONFERENCE 372
GRANNY TURNER'S CHRISTMAS PRESENT—*Story by Peter Morell* 376
DR. ARTHUR RAMOS DIES 381
EDITORIALS 386

DEPARTMENTS

GOOD NEWS 380
BOOK REVIEWS 383
NAACP BATTLEFRONT 388
BRANCH NEWS 393
YOUR DOLLAR'S WORTH 395
HEALTH HINTS 396
FASHION NOTES 398
THE MAKE-UP BOX 399
COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS 400

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■ Why Republican political strategy alienates the Negro vote

Does the Republican Par

By Arnold Aronson and Samuel Spiegler

ONCE again a congressional session has come to a close without enacting any civil rights measure. FEPC was fought through committee in both houses in the last session and is on the calendar in both the Senate and the House of Representatives ready for floor action when Congress reconvenes in January. Thus, while poll tax, anti-lynch, anti-segregation, Army jim crow, and other civil rights bills rest in committee pigeon-holes, the most important of all civil rights measures is in a position to be taken up forthwith when the legislators resume their seats.

There is no doubt about the crucial character of FEPC in the whole civil rights struggle. It is this measure to which virtually every Negro assigns first priority. As one Negro spokesman has put it, FEPC means "bread and butter, rent and fuel, shoes for the baby, and clothing for millions of colored people." Moreover, not only Negroes, but Jews and other minority groups, religious and labor organizations, and liberal bodies of all sorts, have called for enactment of FEPC as the real test of congressional sincerity on civil rights.

Next year, 1950, is an election year. One-third of the Senate and the entire House of Representatives goes before the electorate. Not only will the strategy of the major parties in dealing with FEPC quickly reveal where they really stand on civil rights when the chips are down, but the way senators and representatives vote in crucial tests on this issue may determine how they, and their parties, will fare at the polls in 1950 and 1952.

The Republican party has not elected a president in over twenty years, and has won control of Congress only once during that entire period. When Hugh Scott stepped down as chairman of the Republican National Committee on August 4, 1949, he told his party:

> The only campaigns we can win are those in the future. If we do not win some of them pretty soon we will be face to face with the grim prospect of the liquidation of the Republican party as a force in national affairs.

ARNOLD ARONSON *and* SAMUEL SPIEGLER *are New York City freelance writers active in the civil rights campaign.*

Want the Negro Vote?

The clear-cut victory of Democrat Herbert H. Lehman over Republican John Foster Dulles in the special senatorial election in New York state suggests that Mr. Scott's criteria for survival of the Republican party (namely, victories, and early victories) are unlikely of realization, so long as Republican campaigning is built around attacks upon "statism" and "the welfare state."

LABOR VOTE ALIENATED

The labor vote apparently has been pretty thoroughly alienated from the Republican party as a result of Republican opposition to repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Even assuming that the Republicans can regain the support of the farm vote, which went Democratic in 1948 (an assumption which certainly cannot be made casually) their prospects for winning control of Congress in 1950 and the White House in 1952 are dubious unless they succeed at the same time in recapturing at least a major part of the Negro vote.

Negro voters are sufficiently numerous in seventeen states to determine the outcome of any reasonably close election. These states include the five with the largest electoral votes: California, Illinois, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. In the 1948 presidential contest a shift of the Negro vote in any two of the three key states of California, Illinois, and Ohio would have reversed the outcome of the election. Truman carried California by a meager 17,865 votes; his plurality in the predominantly Negro 62nd Assembly District of Los Angeles alone was 25,028. Truman carried Illinois by 33,612: three Negro wards in Chicago's South Side alone gave him a plurity of 50,012. Truman carried Ohio by 7,107: the six Negro wards of Cleveland alone gave him a plurality of 14,713. Thus was the crucially pivotal character of the Negro vote demonstrated in 1948.

Traditionally, the Negro used to be a Republican. Until 1932, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt swept the country, including the Negroes, into the Democratic fold, the Republican party, the party of Abraham Lincoln, the adversary of southern white oppression, commanded the Negro's support. Since that time, the Negro vote in every national election has gone Democratic. Only Wendell

Willkie, with his unequivocal stand against racial discrimination, recaptured any significant part of this vote.

Increasingly, the Negro vote is an independent vote and the Negro voter a discerning voter. Platitudes and a few political plums to so-called leaders no longer sway the Negro citizen. He has gained sophistication and political insight. He knows where his interests lie and he chooses the candidate who stands where he wants him to stand on the issues which are important to him. Party labels weigh lightly with him. He has learned to discount promises and measure pledges against performance.

Republican strategy has seemed to many Negroes deliberately designed to alienate rather than to attract their support. During the presidential campaign, Dewey made no move to exploit his excellent record on civil rights as governor of New York. At no time did he or any of his major supporters make any reference to the pioneer laws against employment discrimination or discrimination in educational institutions which New York state had adopted during his administration. While Truman made capital of his civil rights proposals, Dewey kept silent about his civil rights accomplishments. While Truman made a major campaign speech in Harlem, New York's Negro Metropolis—the first presidential candidate ever to do so—Dewey, Taft, Stassen and other Republican bigwigs campaigned in the "solid South." While Truman defied and denounced the Dixiecrats, Republican spokesmen all but openly invited the dissident Southern Democrats into the Republican party. While the Republican platform pledges on civil rights in 1948 represented a retreat from the position taken by the party in 1944, the Democratic civil rights plank was the most far-reaching ever to be adopted by a national party convention.

While Congressman Dawson of Illinois was named assistant to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee and secretary of the Democratic Congressional Committee the Republicans failed to give any Negro a position of prominence or importance in the party organization.

NEGRO REPUBLICANS DISMAYED

Influential Negro Republicans were confounded and dismayed. The Republican American Committee, comprising Republican Negro leadership in 38 states, as early as August 1947 felt impelled to warn the party leadership of "the dangers which lie ahead if it continues its policy of inaction in respect to these issues" (i.e., civil rights). Negro leaders both inside and outside the party became steadily more and more convinced that they were being offered lip-service and political double-talk.

One of them, a life-long Republican, said:

> In 1944 our party pledged itself to the enactment of FEPC, in 1946 it had the opportunity to make good on that promise. It did not do so. You cannot say it failed. The plain, sad, regrettable truth is that it did not try.

A writer in *The Republican, the National Party Magazine* for October 1947 took up the warning.

Apparently addressing the white leadership, he wrote:

> If the Republicans don't wake up to the factor behind the Negro vote, it will soon be too late. . . . If the shoe were on the other foot and you were the Negro seeking political affiliations, would you be honest in considering the Republican party as your party today? Wouldn't you demand better treatment and more recognition from the Republican party than you, as a Negro, have been receiving?

But these admonitions went unheeded. Republican appeals to the Negro vote during the presidential campaign were typified in a series of newspaper advertisements in the Negro press showing photographs of Negro office-holders in Dewey's New York administration. Many of them were civil service employees, anyhow, and the paternalistic touch offended rather than attracted the new Negro voter. Meanwhile, the Negroes were responding to the Democratic campaign by organizing their own fund-raising operations and contributing substantial sums to the depleted Democratic war chest. The Republicans lost the election. A shift of a few thousand Negro votes in the right states would have given the United States a Republican president for the first time in sixteen years.

VOTE WRITTEN OFF

This cursory review of Republican campaign behavior suggests that the party leadership may have decided, quite deliberately and as a matter of long-range political policy, to write off the Negro vote. If such is the case, the decision must have been taken with a view to attracting some larger or at least off-setting advantage. What might that have been?

Perhaps Senator Taft offered a clew in his speech at Nashville, Tenn., when he told a southern states-rights audience, "There is a basic agreement between the Southern Democrats and the Republican party." It is not necessary to interpret this as a reference to a "deal" in order to support the conjecture that the Republican party may have been making a genuine bid for a basic realignment of political forces. The endorsement of Dewey and Warren by Jesse Jones of Texas, Secretary of Commerce in the Roosevelt administration, and the apparent willingness of the Byrd machine to see the Virginia electoral votes go Republican lend credence to this conjecture. Also supporting such speculation is Taft's prediction that the Republicans might carry Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. Most of the Republican votes in those states, he said, would "come from Conservative Democrats."

After all, a Republican victory was expected by virtually everyone. The Republicans may have been convinced that they did not need the Negro vote to win, and that the occasion was ripe for breaking the "solid South once and for all. If this was, indeed, their objective, the prize was a tremendous one; perhaps tempting enough to induce the Republicans to gamble the election on it.

Having lost the election, and having failed to win any southern electorial votes, the Republicans might have been expected to seek to regain

some of the Negro vote which had been such a major factor in their defeat.

REPUBLICAN BEHAVIOR

Does their behavior in the present Congress suggest any such basic change in strategy on their part?

Following the defeat of the anti-poll tax bill by a filibuster during the special session of Congress in the summer of 1948, Republican leaders pledged a change in the Senate rules governing cloture as the first order of business in what they confidently expected would be a Republican-controlled 81st Congress.

Rule XXII of the Senate, the point at issue, was adopted in 1917 "to terminate successful filibustering." It provided that debate on a "pending measure" would be brought to a close by a favorable vote of two-thirds of those senators present and voting. However, the rule proved largely ineffective. Only four times in the thirty-two years during which it was in force had cloture been invoked successfully—and never on a civil rights bill. Despite repeated passage of civil rights measures by the House, however, they were always filibustered to death in the Senate; and all efforts to invoke cloture failed for want of the necessary two-thirds majority. It was abundently clear, therefore, that a more liberal cloture rule, which would permit limitation on debate by something less than two-thirds of those present and voting, was basic to the enactment of civil rights legislation.

The newly elected Democratic majority obviously would have preferred to set aside this hot issue until after other less "controversial" administration measures had been disposed of. Republicans, on the other hand, demanded immediate consideration of the rules change, seeking therein an opportunity to attract Negro support and at the same time to extend the already wide breach between the northern and southern wings of the Democratic party. Goaded by repeated Republican challenges, Majority Leader Scott W. Lucas reluctantly introduced a motion to amend the cloture rule. Against this motion there ensued a filibuster which was probably the bitterest in the memory of present-day senators.

CRUCIAL TEST

The crucial test came on a ruling by Vice-President Barkley which in substance declared that Rule XXII applied to any business before the Senate whether technically a "motion" or a "measure." Had this interpretation been upheld the filibuster on Senator Lucas' motion to take up the cloture change would have been brought to a close and the Senate enabled to debate the issue itself. A reversal of the Vice-President's ruling left the road open for endless filibustering subject only to the limitations of lung power. By a vote of 46 to 41 the Senate overruled the Vice-President. A shift of but three votes would have changed the result.

The 46 senators who voted to override Mr. Barkley were divided equally among Democrats and Republicans. Of the 23 Democratic senators who voted against the Vice-President's ruling, 18 were from the

(*Continued on page* 411)

RECEPTION DESK, *Hale Woodruff mural panel (top) and tabulation department of the new Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company building, Los Angeles, California.*

■ What an intelligent fight can accomplish

Merriam, Kansas: Si

By Franklin H. Williams

ALMOST unnoticed by the nation's press a small band of Negro parents in the little Kansas town of Merriam has fought and won a difficult and expensive battle for the benefit of their children. For years colored youths in Merriam were required by the local school board to attend classes in a two-room ramshackle frame building without inside toilets, auditorium, gymnasium, playground or adequate lighting. It was seldom heated, the basement rain-filled and filthy, with respiratory disease and discomfort resultantly prevalent among the Negro children.

In an attempt to obtain decent educational facilities, the parents of approximately fifty Negro children organized a small branch of the NAACP about three years ago (The CRISIS, May 1949, p.140, "The Merriam School Fight"). Determined to win the right for their children to attend the new $90,000 elementary school, they sued the school board for the elimination of segregation in their community. In April, 1949, NAACP attorneys argued before the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas that the segregation of Negro and white children was in violation of the state and federal laws and requested that the court order all children admitted to the newly built school, regardless of race.

FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS *is assistant special counsel NAACP.*

SACRIFICES GREAT

During the year in which the case was pending in the Kansas courts, these Negro parents had sacrificed and worked incessantly to raise the money for the expensive litigation. They had kept their children home from the inadequate segregated school and had hired two qualified teachers to tutor them. They had given teas, luncheons, baked cupcakes, and conducted rummage sales to scrape together every possible dollar to continue their fight. When the court finally issued its injunction order to the local school officials, the parents felt that their long and difficult struggle was finally won.

The local school board, still determined to maintain a pattern of educational segregation, organized a "Home Owners Association" among

ite the Parents Fought

the white citizens. With the help of one or two local Negro "favor-seekers," petitions were circulated asking that the "jim-crow" school remain open on a voluntary basis. Through the use of lies and misrepresentation, fifty-one percent of the Negro families were duped into signing the petition. They had been told that the jim-crow school would be used as a pre-kindergarten school and a recreation hall.

A secret meeting was called by the school board at which one Negro stated that he represented all the colored families in the community and that they did not desire to send their children to the white school, but that if a few repairs were made at the colored school, it would be good enough. Carpenters and painters immediately set to work on the colored school, painting and patching. The workmen—all white—were voluntary. This action was followed by a motion filed with the Supreme Court of Kansas asking for permission to operate the jim-crow school on a voluntary basis. When the Negro parents learned of the fraud that had been perpetrated upon them, they signed another petition to the effect that under no conditions would their children be sent to any school other than the new one.

NOTICES MAILED

The week before school opened, every Negro family received the following notice:

"PATRONS OF THE
WALKER SCHOOL DISTRICT
"NOTICE OF MEETING
WEDNESDAY

"September 7, 1949, 8 P. M. at the South Park School auditorium. A discussion with the School Board concerning, building at Walker School—future building — intentions — present work in progress.

"ALL PATRONS ARE REQUESTED TO ATTEND."

At a meeting of the NAACP branch it was discovered that not one of the parents considered himself a "patron of the Walker (jim-crow) school" and that, accordingly, they would not attend the meeting but would instead send two representatives.

When the meeting was called to

(*Continued on page* 423)

Hampton Institute

WHEN a college for the first time inaugurates one of its own alumni as president, and when it receives widespread attention from the daily and weekly press, it knows that the time has come for it to speak its piece.

Realizing this fact, Hampton Institute preceded its October 29 inauguration of Alonzo G. Moron as president with a two-day conference centered around the theme, "The College, the Negro, and Industry." Purpose of the inaugural conference was to spotlight the need for the integration of Negroes into industry on a basis of equality. Specifically, Hampton was interested in underlining the advances which can be made in this regard through the closer cooperation of the college and industry. And this includes management as well as labor.

In exploring the problems involved

HAMPTON INSTITUTE *students in machine shop.*

naugural Conference

in cooperation between the college and industry, Hampton called upon a group of experts from industry, business, and the academic world.

Among those who addressed sessions of the conference were the following: Dr. Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League; Ivan L. Willis, vice-president, International Harvester Company; Thomas A. Morgan, chairman of the board, Sperry Corporation; H. F. Willkie, vice-president, Joseph Seagrams and Sons; Stanley H. Ruttenberg, director, department of education and research, CIO; Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, AFL; Charles H. Houston, attorney-at-law, Washington, D. C.; and Dean George M. Johnson of the Howard university law school.

Perhaps the most significant statement made from the platform during

HAMPTON STUDENTS *doing exercises on linotype machines.*

the five conference sessions was that of Thomas A. Morgan, chairman of the board of the Sperry Corporation. He stated: "Our experience has shown that the responsibility for breaking down whatever prejudice remains in industry lies with the top levels of management. It is the boss who must clearly state the policy. Once he states it and sticks to it, it will be found that such opposition as exists at the working levels or in the lower supervisory levels will gradually disappear."

However, Stanley H. Ruttenberg, of CIO, who spoke later during the same day took exceptions to Mr. Morgan's remarks on the ground that the job of integration concerns labor as well as management. He pointed out that without strong union support management could not carry out a policy of racial integration. And another union head, Nicholas Di Pietro, of the AFL, implied that management was often more opposed to integration than the unions. Mr. Morgan partially agreed to this view with the admission that his own company had to be "educated" into taking an enlightened attitude toward the employment of Negroes.

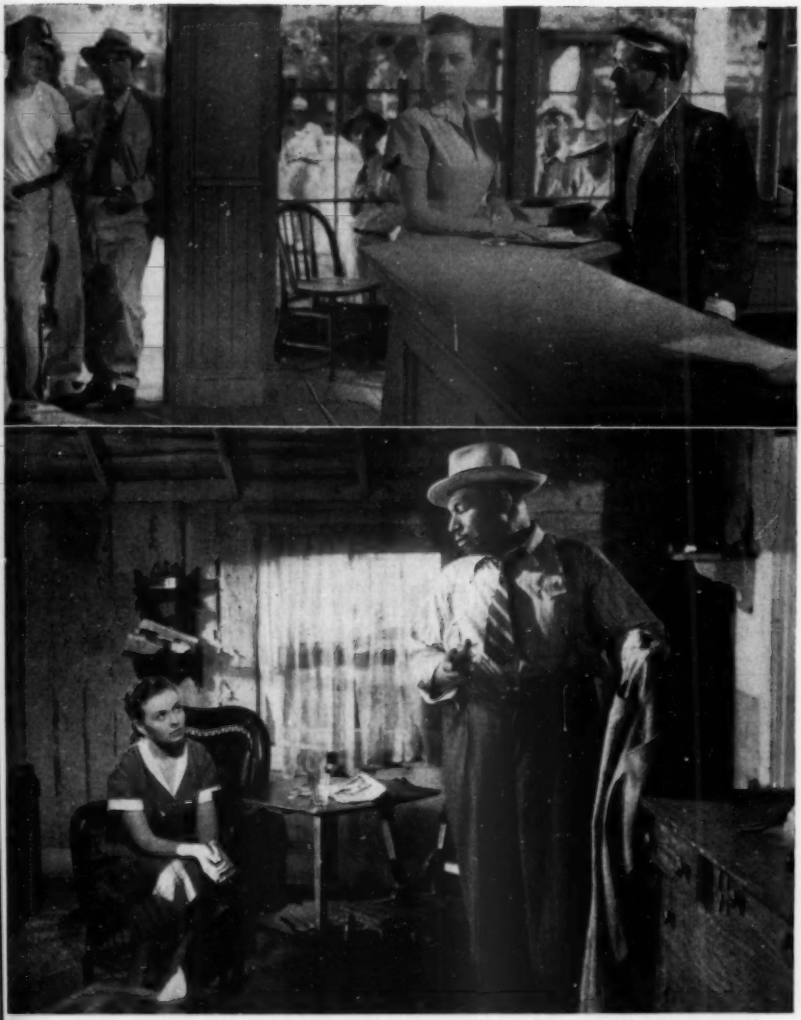
When it came to discussion of the Negro in relations to business, the speakers felt that it was both good business and democracy to practice equality. Mr. Willis, vice-president of International Harvester Company, declared that his company based its policy on "the fundamental principle that everyone has a right to earn a living." Thus both Mr. Morgan and Mr. Willis accepted management responsibility in the matter of racial integration.

PRESIDENT ALONZO G. MORON

H. F. Willkie, on the other hand, was much more cautious in his statements on this issue of management versus labor in its attitudes toward the employment of Negroes.

Lester B. Granger advised the conference in these words: "Integration means the voluntary and mutual acceptance of joint responsibilities for living and working and planning together. I believe there is a grave danger that the developing generation of Negro youth will discover a few years from now that as the present imperfect democratic order is gradually improved the young Negro members of that new order will be found unprepared to carry on

(*Continued on page* 423)



TWENTIETH CENTURY-FOX *"Pinky," story of the color line. The townspeople taunt Pinky. Bottom, she asks for grandmother's money from Jake.*

■ Granny Turner says she went to Heaven to consult with St. Peter in order to get her Christmas present

Granny Turner's Christmas Present

By Peter Morell

IT TOOK a lot of adversity and worriment to take the laughing snap out of Granny's eyes, or wilt that gay curling, grey lock of hair that stole from under her headkerchief. But these were times that would devil the most cheerful soul.

What *ordinarily* would have been a most happy Christmas, with plenty of where-with-all to make merry and rejoice in the coming of the Lawd's Son, as good Christians should, was threatening to turn into a no gifts for the children and nothing much for the celebration. And yet the turpentine camp hands had a good pay day coming. But the devil had to choose this time to tempt Colonel Dutton (title purely honorary) to go "swillin' corn liquor, an' hellin' with the gals. An' that old goat over sixty-five years old." Surely such goings on would outrage the most charitable soul.

And Granny knew the Colonel. She had known him as a head-strong boy. Later she had brought up his two offsprings, who overly favored their Dad's wild headstrongness. And Granny knew also that it would be at least a week before the Colonel would have a surfeit of "Sinin'" which would leave the turpentine camp hands a payless, empty Christmas. But Granny was a good Christian. She would not blame the good Lawd, no, for the devil's doings. Yet it was hard with nothing to do but just sit around and think about it. The kitchen of her two room pine cabin was needlessly cleaned for the third time that day. The wick of the kerosene lamp trimmed and the chimney polished. There was nothing left to do but to watch time and hope.

With a sigh she sat down in her rocker. After a hard day's work there was always comfort in the swaying of the rocker. Tonight, however, she was fidgety and couldn't settle down to the rhythm of the creaks in the chair. After a few moments she sought solace in prayers: "Dear Lawd, ah knows ah keep askin' an' askin'. But what

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PETER MORELL, *author of* Poisons, Potions, and Profits *and co-author of the play* Turpentine, *is a free-lance writer and lives in New York City.*

is this old sinner gonna do? The Colonel is rampagin' and castin' the devil's work all over these piney woods and they's nuttin', nuttin' we can do about it." She unconsciously raised her voice and started belaboring the Colonel with the choicest of the colorful cuss words she had picked up while cooking for the camp hands. Suddenly she realized that she is blaspheming and stops. But the temptation is too great and she completed her condemnation of the Colonel, in her mind, with her choicest. Then pleaded aloud: "No, Lawd, ah ain' said them curse words, but a body just can't help thinkin'. But do Lawd, do, drive the devil outa the Colonel, an' make . . ."

Her pleadings were interrupted by a young man who burst into the room. He was gasping for breath. His dark face was scratched and his torn overalls indicated that he had plunged through the brush too frightened to consider hurt to body or clothes. The terror in his eyes darted to every corner of the room and then settled on Granny.

"The night shirts is after me," he pleaded in a whisper. There was a querulous note in Granny's voice as she scolded him: "Dick Williams, don' we have trouble . . ."

"Jim Dutton's killed. Shot dead." Williams burst out. Granny rose from her rocker and threw her hands up in despair.

"Dear Lawd," she turns to Dick and screams; "You miseryin' fool you . . ."

"Not me." Williams explained excitedly. "We heard in Gainesville that Hoss Crawford had shot Jim Dutton in some gambling game. So ah beat it fo' home to keep out of trouble. About a mile from town ah saw Jim Dutton layin' in the road an' ah bent over him thinkin' maybe I could help. Then I heard somebody behind a clump of pines. They was white men. And they started yelling: 'Thats him, thats the black . . .'. So ah run home."

"Lawdy. Lawdy. Just plenty of nothing but trouble." Granny looked at Williams quickly and asked:

"Colonel Dutton know his son's been killed?"

"Guess not. Sheriff's gonna get himself a colored man to blame befo' he let the Colonel know."

Granny busied herself preparing a parcel of food. Williams went to the door and looked out anxiously. When the parcel was ready she handed it to Williams and said, "Get to the swamps. Stay about a mile the other side of the turpentine still. Ah'll send Melise with food, don't let anybody see you."

Williams darted out of the cabin. Granny went to the door and looked out at the giant pines boxed for the flow of gum which is distilled into turpentine. She caught a glimpse of Williams as he skirted the cooper's shed and blended into the shadows of the piney woods. Then Granny turned back into the kitchen. There was a determined look on her face an' anger in her voice as she spoke:

"Ah'm goin' to have to sin, Lawd. If you dams me to hell and everlastin' damnation, I won't blame you Lawd. Your ways are best, dear Lawd."

Granny then goes to the lamp and turns it down leaving the room in murky darkness. A young girl comes

in hesitantly and asks:

"Is y'all busy, Granny Turner?"

"No, chile, never too busy fo' my pretty Melise," said Granny smiling.

"Where's Dick?"

Granny ignores the question and beams at her.

"My, don't you look pretty tonight. Yo' eyes shinin' and that pretty red dress."

"Where's Dick?" Melise asks again.

"Honey, ah don't rightly know. Might be to Gainsville."

"Maybe he's talking to the Reverent 'bout we gettin' married Christmas Day."

"Might be," smiled Granny, "But you is gotto do somethin' fo' me."

"Yessum," Melise assented brightly.

"Go over to Colonel Dutton's and tell his daughter Lucy that Granny's awful sick. Tell her ah said to please come."

"Miss Lucy's too uppity to care 'bout y'all or nobodyelse."

"Do as you're told chile. Remind her ah cradled her when she was young, and now that she learn how to be a nurse in the war she's gotto help me."

Melise leaves and Granny looks about the room. Then she turns down the lamp until everything in the room is hardly discernable. The position of the rocker seemed to bother her, so she turned its back to the lamp. Satisfied now she sat down in the rocker.

A man singing, accompanied by a harmonica, could be heard from the outside, mournfully blueing the night. Granny smilingly sang with them:

That onery cracker Dutton
Too mean to give away nuttin'
Lawd, Lawd—
Gotto get me from his sinkin' sand
Gotto get me from Dutton's land
Lawd, Lawd—
Lot's o' fish in the deep blue sea
Gonna sail on the deep blue sea
Lawd, Lawd—
'Fo this turpentine camp make a bum outa me.

Tom Hunt, a large grey-haired man dressed in overalls, came into the kitchen. Hunt was a foreman of the camp and a lay preacher. He laughed at Granny when she finished the song and chided her:

"Colonel Dutton be mad effin' he hear y'all sing that song."

"Colonel Dutton gonna have too much to study 'bout right now without studyin' bout me.

"They's a NAACP man down in Gainesville. Gotto see him 'bout Dick."

Granny looked at Hunt apprehensively and asked anxiously: "You ain' tol' nobody 'bout Dick?"

"No.'

Granny then asked Hunt if he remembered how her grandfather used to teach her how to play dead, so that no one could hardly detect that she was alive. Hunt laughed as he recalled the childish games they played when they were children.

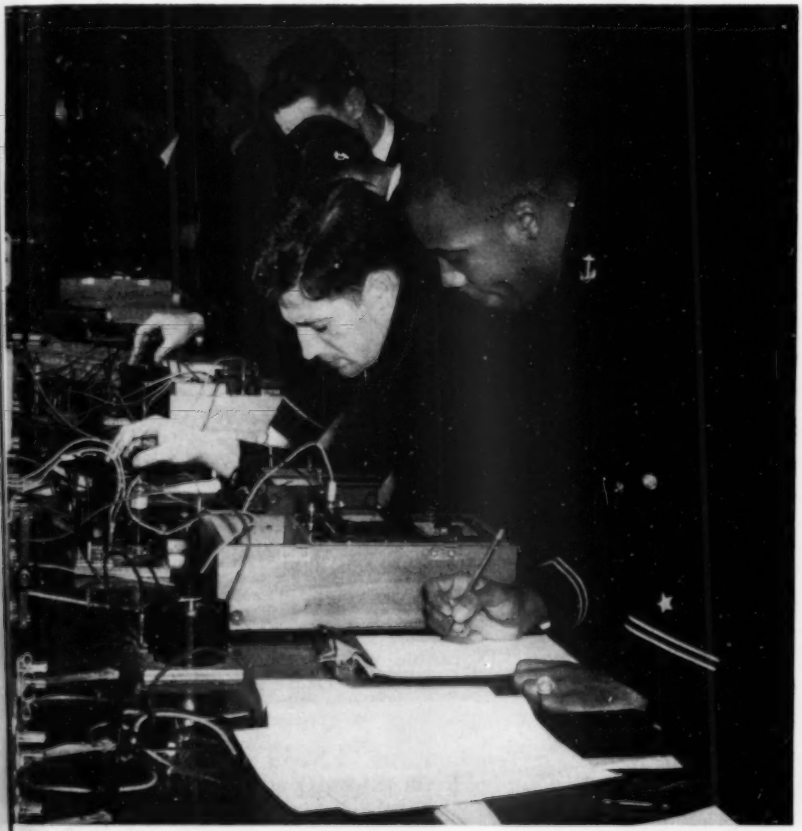
"Ah'm goin' try that playin' dead on Miss Lucy," said Granny.

"What good that gonna do?" asked Hunt.

"Plenty, after ah comes back from being dead."

"Better stop your foolishment 'til ah see that NAACP man. He'll find

(*Continued on page* 418)



U. S. Navy Photo

THIS NEGRO *works with his classmates in a Naval Academy laboratory exercise in electrical engineering.*

Good News

MRS. ORPHENTE E. DANIELS, 43-year-old social worker, has been appointed counselor for the Tulsa county juvenile court. Her appointment to the court post was made from a field of twelve applicants.

★ ★ ★

Winner of the first Richie Low scholarship, an annual award for a Negro woman scholar, is Eleanor C. Beane of Vermont. Miss Beane is now studying at Green Mountain Junior College, Vermont.

★ ★ ★

Two Negroes were called to serve on the Lonoke county, Arkansas, petit jury for the first time last September. They were Roosevelt Anderson and Charles B. Watson.

★ ★ ★

First Lt. William G. Carter, of Pittsburgh, Pa., is the first Negro officer assigned to Lackland, Texas, air-force base under the Air Force integration program.

★ ★ ★

With the promotion of W. P. Taylor from first lieutenant at Firehouse 22 to captain Oakland, California, got its first Negro fire captain.

★ ★ ★

Albert A. Banks and Fred Truitt are the first Negro police in Fayetteville, N. C., since Reconstruction days.

★ ★ ★

When Alex Wilson, a 25-year-old veteran of World War II, went to work for the Conco Chemical Company of Dallas, Texas, he became their first Negro salesman.

★ ★ ★

For the first time in Texarkana, Ark., a Negro has been qualified as a candidate for the board of the North Heights Consolidated School District. The candidate is 44-year-old J. N. Dansby of Mandeville, Ark.

★ ★ ★

Violet U. Ifill, Irma C. Latimer, and Mrs. J. A. Sanders have been appointed to the staff of the Girl Scout Council of Greater New York.

★ ★ ★

First colored public school principal in Queens, N. Y., is Mrs. Mabel H. Bullard, recently appointed to head Public School 92 in Corona.

Dr. Arthur Ramos Dies

DR. ARTHUR RAMOS DE ARAUJO PEREIRA, of Brazil, chief of the social science department of UNESCO, died of a heart attack on October 31 in Paris, France. His age was forty-six. He was probably the greatest Brazilian authority on the Negro, and more than any other man was responsible for the scientific study of the Negro in his country.

At the time he joined UN, Dr. Ramos was professor of anthropology and ethnology in the University of Brazil. He began his career as an assistant in psychiatry in the Sao de Deus Hospital in Baía. In 1928 he was appointed to the chair of clinical psychiatry in the faculty of medicine in Baía. One of his most important posts was that of chief of the mental hygiene service of the Institute of Educational Research of the Federal District. He also lectured in the extension courses of the faculty of law of the University of Rio de Janeiro and organized clinics for the maladjusted children in the Rio public school system.

Born in Pilar, Alagôas, on July 7, 1903, he received his elementary education in his native city and his secondary schooling in Maceió, the state capital. He entered the medical school of Baía in 1921, graduating six years later with the degree of doctor of medicine and surgery. Although his early interests were in clinical psychiatry and forensic medicine, he soon became interested in problems of social psychology. For five years he was associated with the Nina Rodrigues Institute in Baía, a foundation perpetuating the work of this eminent authority on the Negro.

As result of his work in social psychology, he was asked by the publishing house of Civilizaçao Brasileira to edit a series of publications on social questions to be known as the "Popular Science Library." His first book on the Negro, already preceded by eight others in the field of neuropathology, was *The Brazilian Negro* (1934), a psychoanalytic study of music, magic, the dance and religion among Brazilian Negroes. Among his other books are *Negro Folklore of Brazil* (1935), *Negro Cultures in the New World* (1937), *The Negro in Brazil* (1939), written especialy for American readers, and *Negro Acculturation in Brazil* (1942).

In 1943 he published the first volume of his monumental *Introduction to Brazilian Anthropology*, which was followed by volume two in 1947. About half of each volume is devoted to discussion of the Negro and his acculturation in Brazil.

Dr. Ramos, unlike the brilliant social historian Gilberto Freyre, always stresses the cruelties and hardships of slavery and the color handicaps of

freedom. In May 1938 he published a learned article on the subject of "Methods of Punishing Slaves in Brazil" (*Revista do Arquivo Municipal,* Sao Paulo). He himself owned one of the largest collections of slave instruments of torture and punishment in Brazil.

A man of profound erudition, Dr. Ramos authored hundreds of articles in learned journals, wrote dozens of prefaces to the works of others, and received numerous honors and distinctions. His reputation in the field of anthropology was international.

Ever alert to error and fadism in the study of the Negro, he was one of the first to point out the trumpery of Ruth Landes' *The City of Women* because of its false concepts and unscientific methodology.

A recent appointee to UNESCO, he voiced this opinion in one of his first public statements:

". . . . I think UNESCO should raise in its Department of Social Sciences the question of the assimilation of the Indian and Negro peoples of the New World and of their introduction to our culture.

"UNESCO's work in this direction should be tied in with the activities already being carried on by certain institutions such as the *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* in Mexico, the Afro-American Instiute in Cuba, and others. . . . I should be glad if we could employ our hearts as well as our brains to find solutions for the many difficulties which confront a large part of mankind. . . ."

In the death of Dr. Ramos the Negroes of the New World lost a great friend and an eminent scholar in *cousas de negros.* Dr. Ramos is survived by his wife Dona Luiza de Araujo Ramos.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES

***Christopher Columbus: Being the Life of the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón.* By Salvador de Madariaga. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. XI+498pp. Illustrated. $5.00.**

"Who was this mysterious man," queries Sr. Salvador de Madariaga, "whose single spirit changed the course of history?" If born Christoforo Colombo, why his determined will to be known as Cristóbal Colón? Why was it he never claimed he was a Genoese? How explain that he never used Italian, even when addressing his own countrymen, always using Spanish? Why his fondness for Moors and Jews? Where did he learn his Latin and his cosmography?

"All points," explains the author, "on which, after over four hundred years of time and over four hundred volumes of research, there is genuine ground for disagreement."

The enigma is this: how to reconcile the gap between the "Genoese" and the "Spanish" set of data on Cristóbal Colón. The notorial files of Genoa prove to the satisfaction of any law court the birth there, probably in 1451, of one Christoforo Colombo. On the other hand the "Spanish" set of data establish that Colón never admitted his Genoese birth; never used Italian; always insisted that he be known as Colón; and changed his name four times — *Colombo - Colomo - Colom - Colón.*

One cannot accept both sets of data without the gymnastics of credulity. But our author insists that such gymnastics are not necessary if we accept his Jewish-Catalan hypothesis. According to Sr. Salvador de Madariaga, Colón was born into a family of expatriated Sephardi Jews who had fled Spain in 1391, at the beginning of the wholesale persecution of their people. Arrived in Italy, they settled in the small town of Savona within the borders of the Genoese Republic. This thesis clears up Colón's adoption of attitudes characteristic of the Jews; his Portuguese-accented Spanish, since expatriated Sephardi Jews spoke Castillan; his extreme mobility and lack of Genoese patriotism; his use of the name Colón, because the "family traditional name was Colom"; and the help which he received from *Conversos* or Christian Jews at the court of Ferdinand and Isabel. Our author's supposition has great plausibility and is argued from the basis of an astounding wealth of circumstantial evidence.

After clearing up the contradictions, puzzles, and ambiguities in Colón's life, Sr. Salvador de Madariaga paints, with skilful psychological insight, a vivid portrait of Cristóbal Colón as a man of genius, giving emphasis to his extraordinary force of character and his unparalleled achievement. Originally published in 1939, this brilliant piece of historical detective work is now reissued in a new edition incorporating corrections of minor errors detected in the first. The author says that though there have been many books and articles criticizing his Jewish-Catalan hypothesis, he can find no grounds for abandoning his thesis.

Sr. Salvador de Madariaga was born seventy-six years ago at Corunna, Spain, and trained as an engineer in Madrid and Paris. He has at various times been consulting engineer, technical adviser to a railroad, an official of the

League of Nations, a journalist in London, Spanish ambassador to the United States, and professor of Spanish studies at Oxford. He is the author of many books in the fields of history, biography, international relations, and literary criticism.

J. W. I.

THE MELANCHOLY BULL

Maupassant: A Lion in the Path. **By Francis Steegmuller. New York: Random House, 1949. IX+430pp. $5.00.**

If you read Mr. Steegmuller's lively *Flaubert and Madame Bovary* (1939), you will enjoy this highly readable literary biography of Flaubert's godchild, Guy de Maupassant. Mr. Steegmuller sees Maupassant as the victim of a mother fixation. His emotional extremes of depression and elation, his self-centeredness, his rampant sensuality were aggravated by blind worship of a wronged mother. "It is a familiar spectacle—the absorption of a sensitive boy by a charming, cultivated, dignified mother not quite intelligent or selfless enough to know or to stop what she is doing." Although our author uses newly discovered material in the development of this plausible thesis, he relies in the main on analyses of Maupassant's works; since, and this is apparently true, Maupassant shed his neuroticism through his stories. His gallery of cuckolded, ridiculous husbands are all portraits of his father whom he hated. The vindicated women on the other hand are different disguises for his mother Laure.

Henri-René-Albert-Guy de Maupassant was born on August 5, 1850, near Tourville-sur-Arques in Normandy. The fact that his family belonged to the French gentry explains the aristocratic *de*. His father's adulterous habits led to separation from the mother, Laure, when little Guy was about eleven years old. Guy and his younger brother Hervé remained with the mother, who lost no opportunity of teaching her sons hostility toward their father.

Guy received his first schooling from a local curé, studied in a lycée at Rouen spent some time in a small Catholic seminary at Yvetot, from which he was expelled, and later studied law in Paris. He served as a soldier in the Franco-Prussian war and afterwards got a job as a government clerk in Paris. He stopped work at the naval ministry in 1880, devoting the rest of his life to literature. For seven years he was under Flaubert's tuition.

Maupassant was a mamma's boy, and mamma's boys so often turn out homosexuals or libertines. Maupassant became the latter. Though reputedly "pure" until sixteen, this on the word of his mother, his subsequent life is a case study in sexual hyperesthesia. In vain Flaubert had warned "Trop de putains," and the *Souvenirs* of his valet François offers partial record of the bevies which streamed through his master's establishment. It was through such priapean pranks that he caught the syphilis (probably in 1878) which brought about his death from paresis on July 6, 1893, at the age of 43.

His literary life was brief, eleven meteoric years dating from the success of *Boule de Suif* in May of 1880. With his broadening fame he often talked cynically about his profession as if it were just a trade, another way of making a living, since he had deliberately planned his literary career. Skilful exploitation of his friendships with Flaubert and Zola were fitted into his program with the same cool calculation as his hours of work or a balloon ascension to advertize one of his stories. He once remarked: "I am a manufacturer of letters"; on another occasion he described himself as a "merchant of prose."

Maupassant worked hard—his prolificness was astounding. In eleven years he wrote nearly three hundred

short stories, six novels, and countless newspaper articles. His style is lucid, concise; his material sensual but poetically treated and heightened into art through his consummate craftsmanship and that incommunicable gift called genius. He writes about Norman peasants, government clerks, society people, prostitutes, children, the sane, the daft and the queer, but always with accuracy of observation and objectivity of style. These qualities show to perfection in his best stories, such as *Boule de Suif, The Inheritance, Le Horla,* and *Madame Tellier's House,* to name a few.

Yet Maupassant has never had wide appeal in either America or England despite his popularity in his own country and the critical approbation which he received even during his life. Perhaps one reason is that he has, with a few exceptions, been unfortunate in his English translators. Another is that he has often become the victim of the pornographers who issue selected stories in scarlet-bound collections. But the cultivated reader who knows his Maupassant knows that such collections do one of the world's greatest masters of the short story a great disservice. 'Tis true that a typical Maupassantian story is likely to be either mildly risqué or pessimistic, or both, and for this reason American readers are likely to find him a little repulsive. Some of his stories Americans simply find "quite unspeakable." Stories like *Idylle* (in which a peasant woman plays wet nurse to a starving young man), *Monsieur Jocaste* (an apology for incest), or *Le Chambre 11* (pseudo-necrophilia). This erotic mania which threads its way through his stories stems from his priapism and his mother fixation, as Mr. Steegmuller makes clear. The *Treponema pallidum* undoubtedly played a part, too.

One service Mr. Steegmuller performs for his readers is to point out that sixty-five of the stories usually included in American collections of Maupassant are really fakes. He lists them with their English and purported French titles. He likewise shows that Maupassant was not an author with "trick" or "twist" endings; only a few of his stories fall in this category and the overworking of *The Necklace* in short-story courses is probably partially responsible for this erroneous belief. Mr. Steegmuller prints four genuine stories of Maupassant for the first time since their newspaper publication. Incidentally, our author's memory is at fault when he gives the plot of *Monsieur Parent* as an apology for incest. That story could be *Monsieur Jocaste, Le Port,* or *L'Ermite.* And in *Le Cas de Madame Luneau* it was the man Hippolyte who brought suit for the woman's failure to pay for a very personal service, not the woman.

Mr. Steegmuller has written a discerning study of Maupassant, Taine's "melancholy bull," and his book will bring to Americans a deeper knowledge of one of the world's great writers.

J. W. I.

DID YOU KNOW —

That December was the tenth (decem) month in the early Roman calendar, the first being Martius or March? Though January and February were added by Numa Pompilius in the 8th and 7th centuries, January did not become the first month until the reform of the calendar by Julius Caesar.

Editorials

"THE MOSCOW GHETTO"

SYMPATHETIC whites often wonder how it feels to live in a ghetto, since they can experience segregated living only vicariously. Now comes Lieut. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith to tell how it feels for a white man to live cribbed and confined in the midst of a hostile population. In the sixth installment of his "My Three Years in Moscow," now running in *The New York Times*, the general tells how it felt to be a member of the foreign colony in Moscow.

He and his embassy staff, as well as other foreigners, were segregated from the masses of Russian people, constantly watched by the police, and limited in their social relations almost exclusively to their own set. Even friendly Russians were afraid to accept them. They were "victims of a system," he says.

In reading these lamentations we thought of the plight of millions of Ambassador Smith's own darker-hued countrymen who live cribbed and confined by the American system. They too are watched by jim crow, tradition, and prejudice for fear they will mingle with the masses of Americans. They find themselves living, working, and playing together like the Moscow foreign colony. And like Ambassador Smith's group they are making "every possible effort, consistent with reasonable dignity," to improve their lot. Sometimes the shoe has to be on the other foot for the other fellow to know how it pinches.

JACKIE DOES IT AGAIN

THE world series is over and Jackie Robinson wins the Kenesaw Mountain Landis Memorial Plaque for 1949 in the National League, one of the most valuable player awards in professional baseball. Robinson headed half of the twenty-four ballots in the tabulation of the Baseball Writers Association, was named for first place on twelve of them, and received a total of 264 points. Stan Musial, of St. Louis and three-time-winner of the award, was runner-up with 226 points.

Branch Rickey's astuteness in picking Robinson to be the Negro pioneer in big league baseball has paid off. Jackie made good with the Montreal Royals, where he led the International League in batting and was near the top in base stealing. When he joined the Dodgers, calamity howlers predicted all sorts of dire things for him. They said he would not get along with his team mates or the Dodger's manager. They speculated on whether he would ride Pullman in the South, or could train with his team in Dixie. But the things the wailers predicted never happened.

Regarded first as a curiosity in some quarters, Jackie was soon accepted as just another baseball player who happened to be tawny.

He now adds to his honor of being the first Negro in major-league baseball, not to mention his playing in a world series, the honor of being the first Negro to win this valuable player-award. Jackie Robinson's career is an inspiration to Negro youth. And all this youth asks is an opportunity, whether in baseball, football, work, or the professions. Jackie is a credit to his profession and his race. We applaud him.

"WHITE SUPREMACY"

WHEN we read that George W. Armstrong, Sr., of Mississippi, was willing to underwrite "white supremacy" to the tune of $50,000,000 we were frankly flabbergasted. Our first reaction was that "white supremacy" in the Magnolia State must be in a pretty bad fix if it needed a shot in the arm from Jefferson College, an obscure Natchez prep school apparently rich in "rebel" tradition but extremely short on this world's goods. We had though "white supremacy" in Mississippi still a going concern, what with its black ghettos, segregation and jim-crow laws, and its hoary tradition of keeping the Negro in his place. But it seems we were wrong.

Anyway, Mr. Armstrong felt the foundations needed shoring up. He did not mention Negroes as a threat, but perhaps that is because he does not regard them as a menace; he probably feels that present state laws and tradition are adequate. But he comes a cropper by wishing to exclude Jews while laying emphasis on teaching "the true principles of Jeffersonian democracy and the Constitution, Christianity, and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin-American races."

Only a so-red-the-rose Mississippian could think up such balderdash. Jeffersonian democracy, Christianity, the Constitution, all three, welcome all races and nationalities. Jefferson, as everybody knows, believed in democracy for all Americans, not just for white. That Christianity makes no distinctions of color, class, or race should be known even to Judge Armstrong. We will not mention the American Constitution because it is quite possible that the gentleman, since he lives in Mississippi, has never heard of this historic document. The Anglo-Saxons he idealizes are not a race. And the "Latin-American races" are a figment of his imagination. Does the Judge know that a Cuban Negro or a Peruvian Indian is is much a member of the "Latin-American races" as a Chilean *hacendado* or an Argentine *estanciero?*

But fortunately we do not have to worry about Judge Armstrong's attempt to throw a school back into the century of Gobineau. The trustees of Jefferson College, have seen to that. Publicity of the gift stirred up such a storm that there was no honorable way out for the trustees except to refuse the Judge's munificent endowment. Now they should have the courage to make themselves real democrats by breaking down the barriers to accepting Negro students. That will be true Jeffersonian democracy.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

CIVIL RIGHTS

Groups Join Drive: Representatives of twenty-two national church, labor, civic, and trade organizations formulated plans for a drive to secure passage of FEPC and other civil rights legislation at a conference held in New York City in November on call of the NAACP.

De Mille

PANDIT J. NEHRU, *prime minister of India, inspecting a* $500 *life membership certificate in the NAACP purchased and presented to him by the Pittsburgh Courier. Looking on are Mrs. Robert L. Vann, NAACP board member and Courier treasurer, and acting secretary Roy Wilkins.*

Agreeing to join in the sponsorship of the Association's civil rights mobilization, the organization representatives pledged support of the campaign on local, state, and national levels. Local and state units of the organizations will be directed to cooperate with local branches and state conferences in seeking commitments from members of Congress to vote for FEPC and other measures included in the President's civil rights program.

Delegations composed of representatives of the various organizations will make a systematic check-up on congressmen and senators while the lawmakers are at home prior to the opening of the second session of the 81st Congress. While efforts were made to get commitments from all members of Congress, the drive was intensified in the pivotal marginal states in which Senate races were held.

The mobilization of grass roots support of the program will culminate in a three-day conference in Washington, January 15-17, to which the organizations will send local delegates for a mass meeting and further conferences with leaders and members of both houses of Congress.

ATTY. WILLIAM HENRY HUFF'S 74*th extradition victory. L to R: J. B. Baker, saved from return to Florida justice by Atty. Huff (center), and Mrs. Maeola Baker, Baker's wife. Atty.Huff is a member legal redress committee, Chicago, Ill., branch.*

SOUTH CAROLINA STATE *delegates at annual mee*

YOUTH CONFERENCE

Eleventh Annual Conference: W. W. Law, of Savannah, Ga., former president of the Savannah youth council and member of the youth department's national planning and advisory committee, delivered the keynote address at the eleventh annual youth conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held at Dayton, Ohio, November 9-10.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, national youth secretary, announced that approximately four hundred delegates attended the four-day conference as representatives of youth councils and college chapters in thirty-eight states. Delegates participated in committee meetings, plenary sessions, and public meetings to formulate a plan of action for the attainment of full civil and citizenship rights and for the elimination of discrimination from education, employment and recreation.

Other speakers at the Conference included Rev. Horace White of the Plymouth Congregational church in Detroit, a member of the Mayor's Committee on Interracial Unity and former member of the Detroit Housing Commission; and Hon. Hubert T. Delany, justice in the Domestic Relations Court, New York City, and member of the NAACP national board of directors.

The conference also honored Mrs. Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher, plaintiff in a three-year lawsuit for admission to the University of Oklahoma law school. She was presented with a plaque honoring her as the young Negro making

Majesti

October 15-16 at Florence, S. C.

the most outstanding contribution to better human relations during the past year.

Honors as trail blazers were conferred upon Edith Mae Irby, first Negro to attend the University of Arkansas medical school; and Herman Barnett, first Negro to attend the University of Texas medical school.

SEGREGATION

Wins Settlement of $3,000: Acceptance of the sum of $3,000 by Walter Tannis, Negro sandhog, as compensation for wages lost because of a discriminatory discharge, brought to a successful conclusion a year-long fight by the Association against discriminatory practices by contractors who built the Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel.

Announcement of the settlement, reported to be the largest yet secured by the Commission, was made on October 31 by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, the agency with which Mr. Tannis a year ago filed his complaint against George H. Flinn Corporation, contractors for the tunnel. Mr. Tannis charged that he had been dismissed because he had vainly sought to obtain employment for Negro union members.

The NAACP was retained by the complainant to represent him and the case was presented to the State Commission by Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry, assistant special counsel. An award of back wages was secured last spring for Curtis Chaney, a complainant in another case.

Ranson

LOVELY LENA HORNE *aids NAACP seal sale. Beautiful Miss Horne, songstress and motion picture star, purchases the first NAACP Christmas seals of the 1949 season from 4-year-old Gloster B. Current, Jr. Miss Horne purchased the seals, sponsored annually by the Association, backstage at the Capitol theatre in New York City, where she was then making a personal appearance.*

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., the fourth president of the Los ANGELES branch did not run for re-election at the annual election meeting on December 11.

Griffith, who has served fifteen consecutive terms as head of the largest NAACP branch in the western region, reaffirmed his statement at the annual meeting last year that he would not run this year.

NAACP cases highlighting his term of office and handled successfully by him in the courts include the Brookside swimming pool case of Pasadena; the Huntington drive school case of Monrovia; and the appeals of thirteen parents from convictions for alleged violation of compulsory school attendance law. Outstanding event during his year in office was when the branch played host to the 40th annual NAACP conference, at which Dr. Ralph J. Bunche was presented with the 34th Spingarn medal in the Hollywood Bowl.

Massachusetts: The SPRINGFIELD branch celebrated its 34th birthday with a special program in the Technical high school auditorium in October.

The Springfield branch has a long record of service in the Community in its efforts to bring about better understanding between the Negroes and whites of Greater Springfield. With a membership of nearly 1,000, comprising men and women of both races, the branch has functioned without interruption since 1915.

New Jersey: Shelby Sharpe, a teacher in Farmington for seven years, had charges of corporal punishment dismissed in August by the board of education, which sat as a trial jury. Miss Sharpe had been accused by Mrs. Russell Sistler, Mrs. Eugene Hornberger, Mrs. Theresa Williams, Mrs. Thelma Cavileer, and Mrs. Eleanor Maxwell, parents of children she taught last year.

Chief counsel for her defense was J. Mercer Burrell of Newark, who was brought into the case by the ATLANTIC CITY branch.

BAYARD RUSTIN, *who spent 22 days on a N. C. chain gang for refusal to obey jim-crow travel laws in N. C., joins the 4-year picket line of Ford's theater, Baltimore, Md. The Baltimore branch is fighting to make Ford's give up its jim-crow policy.*

New York: Earl Brown, Democratic Liberal candidate, and Horace Marshall, assistant to city councilman Benjamin Davis, American Labor party and Communist candidate, opposing candidates in the 21st senatorial district for the councilmanic post, were among the participants in a public forum on the elections, men and issues, sponsored by the NAACP YOUTH COUNCIL of New York.

The political action committee, co-chairmaned by Charles Allen and Sam Williams, was in charge of the forum. Ella Baker is advisor to the council.

Southwest: On September 3 the regional secretary and Attorney Otto Mullinax, of Dallas, met with the Winnsboro, Texas, branch to discuss the public school case filed in that community and the recent instances of police brutality reported there.

It should be noticed that the police brutality incidents appeared to have no direct connection with the filing of the school case. Rather, the police brutality incidents involving some 15 or 20 Negroes seemed to conform to the pattern prevalent in small southern communities. Wood county, where Winnsboro is located, adheres to the old practice of paying its police officials by granting them a percentage of fines, resulting in the regular arrest and fining of certain persons, usually Negroes, who have least resources for defending themselves. Actually, it amounts to a system of exacting ransom from these certain persons for the privilege of being allowed to stay out of jail.

Louisiana: Meeting of the Louisiana state conference of NAACP branches was held in New Orleans October 28-29. Speaker for the mass meeting on October 28, Friday evening, was the regional special counsel, U. S. Tate and both regional officers participated in the business sessions the next day.

Adopted at the conference was a five-year program blueprinting state NAACP activities through 1954, together with a program setting forth limited objectives for 1950.

HOLIDAY

GREETINGS

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Your Dollar's Worth

These Christmas gift selections have been culled from CU's 1949 and late 1948 test projects as a check list for Christmas buyers. They are not the "Best Buys" of the year, but rather items which rated well enough in CU's tests to be recommended for Christmas Buying.

CHEVROLET "STYLELINE" ($1461 at factory for the 4-door sedan without accessories) is a "Best Buy" in the under $1800 group.

TELEVISION SETS. Among 10-inch and 16-inch television sets, RCA-Victor models were rated best of those tested in 1949.

ZENITH 7H920 AM-FM receiver is a newer version of the set rated "the best table model radio CU has tested in recent years."

THE SHEAFFER STRATOWRITER Retractable with gold-filled body ($15) was the best ball-point pen found by CU. Other Sheaffer models ($1.50 up) rated "good."

THE WESTCLOX SCOTTY ($2.75) was judged best in design of its class and proved about equal in accuracy to other clock-type watches which CU tested.

GRUEN "CURVEX and VERITHIN" watches are very good. "curvex" models are available from $29.75 up, "Verithin" models from $39.75 up.

NYLON CREPE SLIPS (from $4 to $9) are popular and durable.

PERFUMES ARE STANDARD gift items. Roger & Gallet Oeillet Bleu (Blue Carnation), ($3.30 with tax for ⅓ oz.) is described by CU's consultant as having a true and rich carnation odoe.

LADY ESTHER face powder was considered a "Best Buy" when CU tested; a 2.7-oz. box cost 60c. It was rated "Excellent."

WESTMORE, TANGEE, Woodbury, Flame-Glo, Don Juan, Cashmere Bouquet, and Helen Neuschaefer brands were "Best Buys" in lipsticks.

"Your Dollar" is a digest of articles appearing in CONSUMER REPORTS (the monthly magazine published by Consumers Union, 38 E. First Street, N. Y. 3, and available by individual subscription at $5 a year). Product ratings are based on unbiased laboratory tests on samples purchased by Consumers Union in the open market.

Health Hints

OBESITY

Reducing nostrums are one of the most profitable rackets in the patent medicine field. Most have no value and some are exceedingly dangerous.

DANGEROUS — Thyroid Compounds. Compounds containing Dinitrophenol and Dinitros resol. Laxatives and Cathartics. Consult your Doctor before you try to use any of the above products for reducing.

WORTHLESS—Food Nostrums. External Applications. Mechanical Appliances and other nostrums. Save your money. None of these will help you reduce.

In considering a diet for reducing weight one must realize that it is the wrong diet that puts on the excess weight, except in those cases where endocrine disorders exist. A proper diet is therefore the most logical means of weight reduction. It is also well to remember that it took a long time for the wrong diet to produce excess weight and it will also require a long time to remove it. Starvation or near starvation diets will only injure your health and you will regain weight just as soon as you stop the diet.

The diet listed below will not only help you reduce, but will supply sufficient protein to rebuild the body tissues as they are destroyed, sufficient carbohydrates and fats to provide the proper amount of heat and energy for the body, enough minerals to satisfy the requirements of the bones, teeth, blood, and the various organs, enough calories to maintain the body at normal activity, enough vitamins to safeguard the system against any of the vitamin deficiency ailments, enough bulk to give a feeling of satisfaction after meals and to insure against constipation, enough fluids to aid in the elimination of waste.

TO REDUCE: EAT THE FOLLOWING

Vegetables: Lettuce, cucumbers, spinach, asparagus, rhubarb, endive, sorrel, sauerkraut, beet green, celery, mushroom, tomato, Brussels sprouts, cauliflower, eggplant, cabbage, radish, leek, string bean, broccoli, artichoke. In smaller quantities: turnip, kohlrabi, squash, beet, carrot and onion.

Fruits: (not stewed, unless stewed without sugar) Grapefruit, orange, strawberry, lemon, cranberry, peach, pineapple, blackberry. In smaller portions: raspberry, currants, peach and melon.

Meat and Fish: Lean meat, fowl and fish, including shell fish.

Bread and Cereals: Only one thin slice of bread, or two soda crackers, or four saltines with each meal.

Dairy Products: Buttermilk, one-half glass of milk occasionally, cottage cheese, eggs, one every morning.

Drinks: Soups, clear broth only, or broth with vegetables mentioned above. Tea with lemon, coffee with milk (preferably without sugar, use saccharine if necessary).

TO REDUCE: AVOID THE FOLLOWING

Vegetables: Potato, green pea, lima bean, corn, shell bean, parsnip, olive, and avocado.

Fruit: Plum, banana, nut, prune, raisin, fig, date, apricot, stewed fruit, canned fruit.

Bread and Cereals: None at all, including cold cereals, cakes, cookies, pies, ice cream macaroni, noodles, spaghetti and rice.

Meat and Fish: Fatty meat and fish, including bacon, pork and delicatessen.

Dairy Products: No cheese (except cottage cheese) and no milk, cream, sour cream, or butter.

Drinks: No creamed soup, cola drinks, sweet drinks and absolutely no alcoholic drinks.

Miscellaneous: Mayonnaise, candy, oil, gelatin, puddings, custards, jam, jelly, marmalade, etc.

The simplest way to regain weight is to reverse a reducing diet. Do eat. Eat those foods which the reducing diet forbids you to eat, and do not eat foods that you take when you want to reduce. However, a certain amount of green vegetables and fruits should be eaten for gaining as well as for reducing, because your body needs the benefit of the vitamins in the fresh fruit.

DID YOU KNOW –

That the yule log is from Lithuania, the Christmas tree from Germany, Santa Claus from Holland, the Christmas card modern (c. 1846), and the present commercialization of the season American?

That the X in Xmas is from the first letter (X or chi) of the Greek word for Christ.

Fashion Notes

The jingle-bell season is upon us. A nip of frost is in the air. The yuletide merryment echos through the land and milady's spirits will be dampened unless she dresses warmly and colorfully for the outdoors, or fails to have that chic, provocative allure when caught under the mistletoe.

Gaiety is the note. A rainbow of colors to challenge milady's ingenuity in creating the ensemble to enhance her charm. And you need not the Midas touch, nor the coffers of a Rajah with which to bribe the fashion genie to give you that well groomed, attractive look. Just reach out into that rainbow of colors, and choose what you like and that will be you. Don't let anyone else influence you. Because that will be anyone else—but not you. Just don't be drab.

Velvet, brocade, or fur fabric slacks topped with perhaps a wool jersey blouse, silk chiffon shirt, or that all important handknit sweater, with gold and bead trim, is flattering. But you prefer a short dinner dress—fine. Starlight blue taffeta skirt with salmon-colored jersey top (again the "separate" with its infinite possibilities of contrasts). Fawn colored satin sheath with bronze accents, belt and slippers. I personally go for the shirtwaist dress in one of the luxury fabrics, lamé, chiffon or crepe de chine (any color but black).

If you are making your own (and about 28 million women do) you have a wealth of material and styles to choose from. You can spend as much or as little as your pocketbook will allow. You can be as chic in denim as in satins. A friend of mine made the smartest hostess coat from unbleached muslin, tight fitted bodice, wide-flared skirt, enormous pockets, stenciled with bright red cabbage roses, with piping of the same shade.

In hunting for materials don't overlook slip cover and drapery fabrics. You will be surprised at the wonderful effect you can create. If your figure can stand it, don't forget the possibilities of felt. The colors are daring, the effect stimulating. Full skirts with matching boleros, sequin or ball fringe trim. Plain sweaters or jerseys are a must (economical because they double with suits or skirts for business). The colors are daring; the effect stimulating. Whatever your choice, make it gay, make it bright, but make it you.

The Make-Up Box

The miraculous accomplishments attributed to Aladdin's lamp in the fairyland of our infancy is as nothing compared to the fantastic miracles ascribed to beauty preparations by advertisers. They prescribe beatuy rituals in the abracadabra of dermatology which promise to achieve a metamorphis in every ugly duckling and endow her with enough seductive glamour to get her man.

Is it difficult for you to charm a man? Use this lipstick and he is yours. Has your husband's love for you died? Use this beauty cream and it will reawaken in him the poetic ardor of youth. Are you unemployed? Use this shampoo and the job is yours. And so on absurdum.

Let me assure you that a well balanced diet will do more for your charm than a carload of beauty preparations. But make-up can help—that is if you're not the kind of person who hides her good points under a mask of too much rouge, powder, eye make-up, and a heavy oppressive odor of perfume.

The first principle of personal charm is to learn what your good points are and to accentuate them slightly. Don't make them glaringly disproportionate to the rest of your face—just a touch of accent to attract from your less attractive points. And don't use beauty or other creams unless you have a dry skin. Soap and water will do a more effective job. First wash your face with warm water to open the pores and remove the dirt, and then wash with cold water to close the pores.

The cold weather is here for duration. Watch out for chapped hands and lips and don't forget the legs! For hands use a little hand lotion and a lot of oil, especially in the cuticles of the fingers. DO NOT CUT THE CUTICLES but rather remove the excess dried skin with an orange stick wrapped at one end with cotton and moistened with olive oil. Polish the nails lightly, not with four or five coats; make two the maximum and never, never put new polish over old. Always remove the old polish with remover, wash hands, and fix cuticles before attempting to apply new polish.

Another thing, let the nails be of medium length, not stubs, and yet not those long repulsive talon-like nails which rather resemble the beaks of birds of prey.

MERRY CHRISTMAS!

College and

FRED L. BROWNLEE, *founders' day speaker at Talladega college.*

BENNETT COLLEGE paid tribute through its opening chapel service to Virginia Dare Scales, a former student and the "campus bell ringer." Miss Scales, who graduated in the January class of 1948, died at her home in Stoneville, N. C., last summer of a brain tumor.

In recalling her school days on the campus, President Jones said: "None of us will ever forget the girl who was so well within herself that her punctuality twenty-three times a day, come winter or rough weather, lives as proof of her character quality."

Opening vesper services at Bennett were addressed by Mrs. Henry Pfeiffer, of New York City, who used the occasion to pay tribute to her late aunt, Annie Pfeiffer.

Dr. Horace M. Bond, president of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.), flew to British West Africa in October for a six weeks' survey of the educational facilities in that area. In making his studies, he will give special attention to secondary education in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Liberia, Sierre Leone, and Dakar, French West Africa. Dr. Bond is making the survey upon invitation of Mazi K. Mbadiwe, president of the African Council on Arts and Research.

■

Leroy Jones, of Kinston, N. C., a student at ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE, was recently named by Senator Frank P. Graham as an alternate candidate for entrance to the U. S. Military Academy at West Point. Jones is the first Negro to receive such a recommendation from a southern senator.

■

Founders' day speaker at TALLADEGA COLLEGE on November 6 was Fred L. Brownlee, executive secretary of the American Missonary Association since 1920. This is the eighty-third academic year at Talladega and alumni groups all over the country observed founders' day in their respective cities.

■

New president at HAMPTON INSTITUTE is Alonzo Graseano Moron. Mr. Moron, although the eighth

School News

president, is the first Negro and the first alumnus to be chosen president of this 81-year-old institution. The 39-year-old president was invested on October 29 by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, president of the Hampton board of trustees.

■

A series of panel discussions on current sociological problems was initiated at WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY in November. Moderator of the first panel, on "Marriage and the Family," was Dr. C. L. Hill, president of the university.

■

BETHUNE - COOKMAN COLLEGE celebrated the ninetieth birthday of Dr. John Dewey on October 20 with a special chapel service under the direction of Mrs. F. Small, head of the department of education and psychology.

■

Foundation stone of the new high school at ADAM'S COLLEGE, Durban, South Africa, was laid on August 27 by Dennis Shepstone, administrator of Natal. The new high school will cost between £15,000 and £20,000, or between $42 and $56 thousand dollars at the present rate of exchange.

■

The conference of presidents of Negro land-grant colleges closed its three-day annual meeting in Washington, D. C., on October 20. The group heard leaders in education and in industry, asked for more reserve officers training units, noted the existence of certain "dangers" surrounding the performance of their work, and commended five southern states for admitting Negroes to graduate and professional schools.

MRS. MARJORIE WHEELER, *winner Mt. Sinai Hopital fellowship.*

■

Through the generosity of the administration of New York's MOUNT SINAI HOSPITAL, Mrs. Marjorie R. Wheeler was given a fellowship which enabled her to spend a part of the summer observing techniques in the hospital's three large pediatric pavilions. Mrs. Wheeler is supervisor of the pediatric pavilion of the Community Hospital in Wilmington, N. C.

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THE SOCIAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES' UNION, Local 19, is offering a $1,000 scholarship for graduate study in social work to any Negro worker who meets graduate school requirements. Preference will be given a union member who understands the role of trade unionism in fighting discrimination in social work.

■

Ten members of ALPHA PHI ALPHA fraternity have been awarded scholarships aggregating $800 to assist them with their school expenses for the year 1949-50, according to Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, director of educational activities for the fraternity.

■

The PRINCE HALL MASONS of Alabama have awarded nineteen tuition scholarships to the children of deceased master Masons to cover their tuition expenses for the year 1949-50 in six Alabama colleges.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY announces the appointment of sixten new staff and faculty members. The most prominent new member is Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, who joins the staff as visiting professor of English. Another addition is Z. Alexander Looby, well-known Nashville attorney, who comes to the faculty as a lecturer in government and business administration.

The twelve Fisk faculty members who spent the summer engaged in special study at home and abroad have now returned to the campus. Among those who studied abroad were Dr. Leslie Collins, associate

professor of English, in Denmark; Dr. Marie Josein, visiting lecturer in chemical physics, in France; Mrs. Caroline Taylor and Sadie Daniels, traveled in Mexico; Reginald Barrett, visiting professor in sociology from Cambridge University, traveled in the Caribbean area; and Dr. Lyman Cady, professor of religion, in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Work has begun on the art gallery which will house the newly acquired Alfred Stieglitz collection of modern art, to be named after Carl Van Vechten, well-known author and critic. The gallery, formerly the old Fisk gymnasium, is being drastically remodeled for its new function at an approximate cost of $25,000. The Stieglitz collection, numbering over 100 pieces, was given to Fisk by Georgia O'Keeffee, Stieglitz's widow and executrix of his will.

Carrell Peterson, Fisk '49, Summa cum laude, is the first member of her race to work as an assistant in the department of sociology at Cornell university. Also working at Cornell is Gloria May, who held a fellowship in the Fisk social science department in 1947-48.

■

Eighty-fourth founder's day exercises were held at SHAW UNIVERSITY on November 18, with Dr. F. D. Sessons, prominent physician of Washington, Ga., delivering the main address. Shaw was founded in 1865 by the late Dr. Henry Martin Tupper, an honorably discharged Union Army veteran.

Dr. George Edmund Haynes, consultant for Africa with the World's Alliance of YMCA's, was a recent speaker at Shaw on the subject,

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"Africa Today, the Continent of the Future." He declared that Africans are dissatisfied and confused and are as likely to listen to Communist propaganda as to the missionary's Bible.

The Hall Johnson Choir was presented in the university's third annual community concert on November 3. New president of the student body is Jonathan G. Brown, a college senior from Brooklyn, N. Y.

■

James A. Jackson, of the public relations department of the Standard Oil Company, was a recent assembly speaker at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE on the relation of the oil industry to Negro Progress.

■

Additions and replacements at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) have been announced by President Sharman D. Scruggs. Dr. Oliver C. Cox comes from Tuskegee to join the faculty as associate professor of sociology; Dr. Willis E. Byrd becomes associate professor of chemistry; John Henry Ross, Jr., as an instructor in industrial arts education; and Harry Lawrence Jones, as an instructor in English. Dwight Reed, of St. Paul Minn., is new coach of football and track as well as instructor in health and physical education. Daisy Lee Wallace, of Philadelphia, is another new instructor in the department of health and physical education.

Queen E. Shootes, formerly of Tuskegee, is new assistant professor and acting head of the department of home economics. Dr. J. Erroll Miller has been promoted from as-

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sociate professor of English; and Mrs. Lola Howard and Joseph McDuffie from assistant professors to professors of law.

The following instructors have been promoted to assistant professors: Mrs. Mary L. Brown Savage, English; Charles M. Hoard, Marshall Penn, Thomas C. Bridge, and Nicholas Gerren, music, and George W. Draper, law.

The Lincoln laboratory school was host on October 15 to the Section A conference of the Missouri Association of New Homemakers of America. The new $600,000-library at Lincoln was opened for public inspection on November 5. However, it will probably be a year before the building will be in use and it will take at least sixty days to install the operating equipment.

Governor Forrest Smith of Missouri has appointed President Sharman D. Scruggs to membership on a statewide committee to formulate plans for study groups, survey activities, and discussion forums to dramatize children's needs and make available the latest scientific information about developments in children's services.

■

One of the five Negro teachers in the Seattle, Wash., public schools, Mrs. Inez Welch Hall of the GATEWOOD SCHOOL, is so highly regarded by Seattle parents that they have requested that their children be transferred to her kindergarten class. This year, Principal Stanton has received more than double last year's requests from parents asking that their youngsters be assigned to Mrs. Hall's room.

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Mrs. Hall is a graduate of Texas college in Tyler and taught thirteen years in Texas before moving to Seattle.

Other Negro teachers in the Seattle public schools are Mrs. Thelma De Witty, at the Cooper school; Mrs. Edith Johnson, at Hawthorne school; Mrs. Gladys Branch, at Summit school; and Mrs. Juanita Allen, at Horace Mann school.

■

Annual scholarship convocation of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was held on October 16, with an opening statement by Dr. W. J. L. Wallace, chairman of the faculty committee on scholarship, and the main address by Dr. Felton G. Clark, president of Southern university.

The fall conference of cooperative extension agents was held at the college October 24-28. Special consultants for the meetings were Madison Broadnax, director of agriculture; A. H. Fuhr, administrative assistant, Farm Credit Administration, Washington; Dr. R. M. Stewart, U. S. Office of Education; Patsy Graves, Farm Home Administration, Washington; and B. A. Perry, research agronomist, sub-experiment station, Lakin, West Virginia.

Dr. Harry W. Greene, head of the department of education, has been elected a member of the West Virginia State Committee, on Teacher Education. The purpose of this committee is to study teacher education throughout the state of West Virginia.

T. D. Phillips director of music, announces a richly rewarding schedule of music lecturers for the school year 1949. Among the subjects listed

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■

According to the results of a poll of 3,375 educational officials made by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC., seven out of ten southern teachers favor integrated schools. Only twenty-five percent expressed approval of the regional segregated educational plan.

■

STORER COLEGE was host in October to an interracial conference of the Winchester, Va., presbytery. The welcome address was given by Dean Leroy Johnson of Storer and the response was made by Mrs. J. K. Gunthrie, of Martinsburg, W. Va.

Five Storer students attended the conference at Johns Hopkins university on October 22 held for the benefit of the World Student Service Fund Drive

■

The ATLANTA UNIVERSITY system reports a total enrollment of 1,654: 391 are at Atlanta university; 378 at Spelman; 621 at Morehouse; 174 at the Atlanta university laboratory school of the school of education; and 90 at the Spelman college of nursery-kindergarten. The enrollment at the university represents twenty-five states, Liberia, and the Bahamas; yet fifty-six percent of those enrolled are native Georgians.

Dr. William M. Boyd, chairman of the department of political science, served as guest lecturer in his specialty at Barnard college October 31—

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November 4. Benjamin Bullock, professor of rural education, contributed "Life Related Arithmetic" to the October issue of the pamphlet *Applied Economics for Better Living*. The author offers a more effective manner for presenting drills in arithmetic.

Dr. Felix Walter has been named as chairman of the department of modern languages. He has served on the faculty of Queen's university in Kingston, Ontario; as professor of French at the University of Toronto, and on the faculty of the London School of Economics.

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REPUBLICAN PARTY

(*Continued from page* 368)

South; the remaining 5 from the border states of Arizona, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and Nevada. Southern opposition to any anti-filibuster resolution was to be expected, however. It was much more difficult for Republican leaders to square the 23 negative Republican votes with the party's professed zeal for civil rights legislation, and it was probably not pure coincidence that a majority of the 23 were from such states as the Dakotas, Maine, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin, states where there is no appreciable Negro vote. The top-level character of the Republican back-turning on its civil rights platform pledges may be gleaned from the fact that 5 of the GOP's nine-man policy committee voted with the Southern Democrats as did 15 of the very Republican senators who originally had challenged Senator Lucas to take up the cloture rule.

The same coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats then pushed through a new cloture rule bearing the name of Republican floor leader Kenneth Wherry and the blessing of Dixiecrat strategist, Senator Russell of Georgia. The new rule extends the application of cloture to any "measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate," and to that extent is an improvement on the 1917 rule. More fundamentally, however, instead of lowering the hitherto unattainable two-thirds present and voting requirement, the Wherry substitute ups the number necessary for cloture to two-thirds of the entire Senate; that is, to 64 votes. In addition, any future attempt to liberalize the rule is specifically exempted from any limitation on debate. This 64-vote requirement for cloture has, perhaps, scuttled civil rights legislation for many years to come.

NEGRO REACTION

Negro reaction was immediate and violent. The NAACP called the Republican role in the Senate rules maneuver a "sellout." In a special message to its branches throughout the country, the Association adjured its members "to fix firmly in your minds for 1950, and following election years, the names of those who tried to stop the clock so far as civil rights are concerned."

The chairman of the politically important Negro Republican American Committee in a letter to Wayne Morse expressed his "heartfelt thanks" for the Oregon Republican's speech against the "transparent sham" of the Wherry compromise. The writer of the letter, remarking that he had "been a delegate to as many Republican National Conventions as any man alive today," called the debate on the rules change "a cream puff farce," and the amendment "an absolute and complete surrender to the ideas and policies of the Ku Klux Klan. The defeats of 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944, and 1948," he wrote, "have not taught the Republican leadership anything about the wishes, hopes, and aspirations of Colored Republicans to become full fledged citizens of this great America."

Efforts of Republican leaders to justify the Wherry resolution on the

ground that it closes the loopholes in the old rule have therefore merely aggravated the resentment of Negro voters. As famed educator Mary McLeod Bethune put it: "The loss of the battle while disappointing in itself was not so piercing a blow as the way the Republicans appear to have insulted our intelligence."

This recital scarcely supports the conjecture that the Republican strategy was designed to appeal to the Negro voter. What might its objective have been? Some observers have suggested that it was the achievement of the same practical result through coalition with the Southern Democrats which had been denied the Republicans in the election; namely, control of Congress. If this was so the Republican strategy, it must be conceded, paid off. Not much has been done by the present Congress over Republican opposition.

It is possible thus to explain Republican congressional tactics. But it is not possible on the same grounds to explain the actions of Republicans in state legislatures during the sessions just ended. In the states where there are no Southern Democratic blocs with which to seek coalitions, and where there are no bases for fundamental reorganizations of party lines. Yet in legislature after legislature, Republicans have voted against bills which had been given the highest priority by Negro citizens.

CALIFORNIA

Let us look first at the Republican record in the three key states of California, Illinois, and Ohio, where, as we have seen, the Negro vote may well have determined the outcome of the last presidential election.

In California, where the Republicans will be contesting in 1950 for the U. S. Senate seat now held by Democrat Sheridan Downey, Governor Warren's administration has a moderate but firm majority in both houses of the state legislature. Democratic sponsors fought desperately to get an FEPC bill through the Assembly, California's lower chamber. The bill would have created a state commission modeled closely on New York's successful State Commission Against Discrimination. It was voted on unfavorably in a Republican-dominated committee, the vote being 11 to 8 on straight party lines. However, three record votes on the measure were forced on the floor.

A motion to discharge the bill from committee first carried 41-34; but the Republican leadership swung into action, and a few days later the body voted 46-28 to reverse itself. The bill's sponsor charged that the Republican speaker of the Assembly had threatened committee chairman with loss of their jobs if they did not vote for the reversal. Four committee chairmen did in fact change their votes, and a fifth absented himself from voting. A further and final attempt to get the bill out of committee was defeated 35-31. An analysis of the voting reveals that only one of the 35 Democrats in the Assembly voted against FEPC on all three tests; whereas 28 of the 45 Republicans did so.

ILLINOIS

Illinois, for the first time in many years, emerged from the 1948 election with a Democratic governor,

Adlai Stevenson, and a lower legislative house under Democratic control. In the senate the Republicans retained an almost two to one majority. The U. S. Senate seat, now occupied by Majority Leader Scott W. Lucas, will be in contest in 1950, and a Republican victory would represent a major setback for the Truman administration.

With both party platforms pledging enactment of FEPC, passage of a fair employment act in Illinois seemed almost assured. But the succession of events paralleled that in California. The Democratic-controlled house passed a bi-partisan FEPC bill, sponsored by no less than 57 members, by a vote of 81-53. Sixty-nine Democrats and only 12 Republicans voted for it; 40 Republicans and but three Democrats opposed it.

But it was in the senate that the crucial test came. Here the 32 Republicans comprise a clear majority of the 50 members. The Democrats lined up early in support of the measure; by early June, 16 of the 18 Democratic senators were committed to vote for it. Although the Republican caucus publicly announced that it was taking no party position on the issue, it was reported that a secret caucus committed the Republican members to oppose the measure. Whether this is true or not, the Republican leadership, in debate, did demand that Republican senators vote against the bill as a matter of party regularity. One Republican stated on the floor, in explaining why he was voting against the bill, that he was doing so against his convictions; that not only had political and economic pressures been applied to him, but his wife and his children had been threatened with social ostracism if he supported the measure.

FORGET NEGRO VOTE

Just before the bill came to a vote on the floor, Dr. J. B. Martin, Negro Republican member of the Chicago Sanitary Board, who polled more than a million votes in the last election, called for Republican support for the measure. "If Republicans don't vote for the FEPC bill" he said, "they might as well forget the Negro vote in Chicago and Illinois."

On the final test, FEPC lost, 25-23. Twenty-four of the 25 adverse votes were cast by Republicans. Only seven Republicans joined 16 Democrats in support of the legislation.

Although the final vote was three short of the necessary constitutional majority, actually the bill would have passed had one more Republican been for it. The lone Democrat who voted against the measure, and one Republican, answered "No" only when and because it was evident that enough votes could not be mustered for enactment. Had one more Republican come forward and committed himself to vote for FEPC before the roll call, Illinois would today be among the states which have prohibited discrimination in employment because of race, color, or creed.

In a "Report to the Illinois Community," the Illinois Fair Employment Practice Committee, which spearheaded the campaign for FEPC, published a record of the vote in the senate on the fair employment bill, pointedly designating with asterisks members who are up

for re-election in November 1950. The Report declared: "Republican members of the senate chose to make FEPC a political issue despite the original bi-partisan sponsorship of the measure in both houses. If it is a political issue, then the proponents of fair employment can only work politically to achieve it."

Already there are profound repercussions in Illinois Negro Republican ranks. Oscar DePriest, former Illinois Republican congressman and an active Republican for three decades. was so angered by Republican failure to keep platform pledges on civil rights legislation that he quit the party in protest and went over to the Democrats. Other defections included that of Alva L. Bates, Republican ward president and recent Republican candidate for a municipal judgeship. There is also a ferment in the Negro press, with vehement demands for intra-party reform. The Republican *Chicago Daily News* openly stated that the Republican party had done itself serious harm by defeating FEPC. Joseph D. Bibb, influential Republican Negro columnist of the *Pittsburgh Courier,* accused the party of bigotry, intolertance, and hypocrisy. "It is manifest," he wrote, "that the Republicans will not regain power or prestige while adopting their present detestable and revolting tactics."

OHIO STORY

The story was the same in Ohio. Senator Taft's present term expires in 1951; and it is generally agreed that, with labor grimly determined to accomplish his political demise, and liberal sentiment generally opposed to him, he will face the toughest campaign of his long career in 1950. The Republicans slipped badly in 1947 in Ohio. The state legislature went Democratic for the first time in history, but by a small majority, so that the Republicans hold the balance of power on many controversial issues. In the circumstances, one might expect the Republicans to be even more than ordinarily solicitous of the interests of so influential a group of voters as the Negroes.

The Republican state platform in 1948 had promised to enact an FEPC law, and early in the session a bi-partisan bill was introduced. But Republicans promptly introduced a substitute bill, establishing a purely educational commission, generally considered worthless by FEPC advocates. This was defeated in the house by one vote, 67-66. The support for this emasculated measure was almost wholly Republican, the opposition almost wholly Democratic. The house then passed, 70-61, the original, effective bill, 62 Democrats and only eight Republicans comprising the majority, with 55 Republicans and six Democrats opposing.

The senate, however, by a vote of 17-15, passed the same ineffective bill which the house had rejected. The vote in the senate on this measure was crucial. Favoring the innocuous bill were 13 Republicans and four Democrats. The 15 votes in opposition were solidly Democratic. If a single Republican had voted against the measure it would have been defeated. Friends of FEPC exerted every form of persuasion to obtain that critically

needed Republican vote. George Bender, chairman of the Cuyahoga County Republican Committee, warned Republican legislators: "Our party's platform pledge will be a crucial issue in our 1950 campaign," he telegraphed. "The political implications of this question may be of decisive importance in determining the outcome of these elections." Taft was importuned to use his influence, but to no avail.

A conference committee of senate and house which was appointed to iron out differences between the strong house measure and the weak senate bill agreed upon a compromise. The Republican *Cleveland News* said editorially that this seemed "fair and cautious." It urged its adoption, resting its advice, it stated, on political considerations: "We want to see Republicans get credit among the sympathy groups in the large Ohio cities so these more or less dissident groups can be wooed to the Republican cause in the 1950 and 1952 elections." But even this compromise was rejected by the senate, 17-13. Not a single Republican voted in favor of the conference report.

MICHIGAN STORY

Other case histories could be recounted. They would all fall into the same pattern. Take Michigan, for example. A Democrat introduced a bill for an effective FEPC. Bi-partisan sponsorship was sought but rejected by Republicans. The bill was bottled up in committee. An alternative bill was introduced under Republican sponsorship late in the session. This lacked features which FEPC advocates considered essential. Amendments to strengthen it were added in committee, and Democratic members of the legislature announced that they would support this measure as amended, even though it was known by the names of its Republican sponsors. The committee failed to report it out. A motion to discharge the committee from further consideration, which would have had the effect of bringing the bill to the floor of the House, was defeated by a straight party vote: 57 Republicans voting no, 39 Democrats voting yes.

Somewhat more labyrinthine is the history of FEPC defeat in Pennsylvania. Several bills were introduced by Republicans in both senate and house. Pledged to enactment of fair employment practices legislation, Governor Duff publicly declared that the Republican Party had an "unmistakable obligation" to pass an FEPC Act. One bill, specifically supported by the Governor, became known as an administration measure. The Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association opposed the bill. Its president, Republican National Committeeman G. Mason Owlett, after an interview with the Governor, told newspaper reporters that the Pennsylvania Republican Party was "united," (referring to the deep differences between the Governor and the Grundy-Owlett machine) that the administration's legislative program would go through, but that passage of FEPC seemed "unlikely." Both senate and house committees kept FEPC bills bottled up. In an effort to obscure responsibility for the action, the senate committee on judiciary finally voted by secret ballot to kill FEPC. A Democratic mo-

tion to discharge the bill from a house committee lost 107-89; every Democrat in the house and one sole Republican voted for discharge. An effort to discharge a senate committee met a similar fate, the motion losing 35-15 on a straight party vote. An example of newspaper comment was a front page *Philadelphia Inquirer* article headlined, "Death of FEPC Looms as Big '50 Issue."

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the State Council for a Pennsylvania FEPC, coordinating body for groups backing the legislation, following defeat of the bill, it was recommended that "FEPC should be exploited as a political issue by using education to induce voters to change their political affiliations, if necessary, especially in areas where the Republican representatives were against FEPC."

In Minnesota, Republic Governor Youngdahl's efforts to redeem his campaign pledges by getting an FEPC bill through the legislature were thwarted by members of his own party. In Colorado, FEPC passed the Democratic-controlled house; the Republican-dominated senate passed an emasculated measure and blocked all efforts at compromise on an acceptable bill. In Indiana, young Philip Willkie, son of the late Wendell Willkie, was the only Republican member of the Assembly to vote for FEPC.

If it is possible to explain the Republican 1948 campaign strategy as a bid for southern conservative votes, and the Republican congressional strategy as a device for controlling Congress without assuming the responsibilities that go with the role of the majority party, neither of these explanations has any relevancy to the Republican record on civil rights in state legislatures. That the state Republican policy-makers are aware of the significance of the Negro vote is apparent in their virtually universal espousal of FEPC and other civil rights reform in their state platforms. Yet in state after state Republican legislators flagrantly repudiated their campaign pledges. Why?

Although politically progressive buinessmen, such as Henry Luce, Eric Johnston, Beardsley Ruml, Paul Hoffman, have increasingly advocated FEPC legislation, the more conservative state manufacturers associations and chambers of commerce have steadily opposed it. Indeed, in the northern states these organizations constitute virtually the only vocal opposition. The leadership of these organizations is, of course, frequently identical with the leadership of the state Republican organizations. This is where the Republican strength lies in part. In Pennsylvania G. Mason Owlett, president of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, is also Republican national committeeman. Moreover, this is where the Republican machines, by and large, get their financial support. It is possible to conclude that rather than risk the possible loss of important campaign contributions, Republican strategists chose to take the cash and let the votes go.

SHORTSIGHTED STRATEGY

If such is the case, it may prove shortsighted strategy. It is difficult to imagine where the manufacturers associations and the chambers of commerce would transfer their po-

litical affiliations even if the Republican party had supported FEPC over their opposition. Moreover, parties cannot win elections by becoming exclusive.

In the northern states, FEPC has become a touchstone not only for Negro voters, but for large blocs of others as well—church bodies, labor groups, members of non-Negro minority groups, and great numbers of independent voters who merely want to see legislation enacted against racial repression and discrimination.

On the evidence of the past year, the Republican party, by seeming design, appears to have cut itself off from any reasonable hope of support by precisely that crucially pivotal segment of the electorate which it once could rely upon, whose defection played a major role in costing the Republican party the last national election, and which now appears alienated beyond any possibility of reconciliation short of a drastic turnabout in the Republican approach to civil rights. Republican performance on FEPC in the coming session of Congress will provide the test.

DID YOU KNOW —

That Christmas was originally *Cristes masses* or "the mass or church festival of Christ"?

That the name Alexandre Dumas was borne by three men of genius: Alexandre Dumas (1762-1806), general in the armies of Napoleon; Alexandre Dumas (1803-1870), his son, famous novelist; and Alexandre Dumas (1824-1895), son of the former, novelist and dramatist?

That Moreau de Saint-Méry, the French creole writer, worked out a list of 128 different classifying terms for the various mixed-bloods resulting from crosses among Negroes, whites, and Indians in Saint-Domingue?

GRANNY'S PRESENT

(*Continued from page* 378)

a way to make Colonel Dutton give us our wages."

Hunt was keenly aware that whatever Granny did would be wrong. The fight to curb people like Dutton and their disregard for human rights had to be carried on in an organized fashion. To win over public opinion against mob violence, and the gagging and trampling of the Negroes.

As though Granny had read his mind, she asked, "Can your NAACP man get the Colonel to pay your wages before Christmas? That's only day after tomorrow."

"No," said Hunt, "but maybe its better not to have any Christmas than to fool our folks."

"Who gonna fool our folks?" stormed Granny. "Ain't no fool like a man fool. Can't y'all tellin' what ah did? Why ah did?"

Granny heard steps outside and she slumped down in the rocker, with her head resting on one shoulder. Hunt looked at her for a moment, then bent over her. He examined her pulse, listened to her heart, then said quietly:

"Can't tell effin' this is foolishment or. . . ."

Melise and Lucy Dutton came in. Lucy snaps at Tom: "More light." Tom turns up the lamp and Lucy examines Granny. The examination is cursory. Lucy feels her pulse, listens to her heart, and looks at her for a moment and exclaims:

"She's dead."

Melise runs out of the place screaming:

"Mother, Granny's dead."

Lucy walked out. Hunt scratched his head and looked at Granny again and muttered:

"Ain't no money for the funeral."

Granny kicks Hunt and he jumps. Granny slumps down into the rocker again. Hunt watches her for several moments then says:

"Effin' this be foolishment, y'all gotto come outa it. Then ah whip you. . . ."

"Granny sits up and laughs. "Fooled her, didn't ah."

"She hardly examined you," said Hunt.

"Ah knew that how it would be," said Granny; she don' care if we all' dead."

"What good that gonna do Dick?" Hunt asked.

"Tonight ah comes back from the dead an' go see Colonel Dutton. Better get out there an' keep them from comin' in."

Hunt goes out in time to stop some of the people from crowding into the kitchen. Outside men, women and children were pouring out of the bare one-room pine shanties that formed a half circle around some bare ground in the center of which there was a well. The mens' overalls were well worn and plentifully patched, but clean. The women wore cotten dresses of sober color.

There was an awed hubbub of excited questions from men and women.

"When'd she die? How? Lawd have mercy on her soul."

Melise explained the circumstances of Granny's death.

"Now folks y'all 'ill get a chance to see her but we can't all crowd in at the same time."

"Martha," Hunt called to a tall,

buxom woman, who stepped forward. "You too Ann," a short rotund woman joined them and those three went into Granny's cabin with the rest crowding the doorway.

They found Granny still slumped in her rocker. Hunt picked her up in his arms and carried her into the other room followed by Ann and Martha. Several of those in the doorway crowded into the kitchen, still asking questions and bemoaning Granny's death.

"How we gonna bury her when mister Dutton ain't given us no money?" asked a man.

"Gotto send for the Reverend," advised a woman.

Hunt, who had just come back to the kitchen told them:

"W'll just go to Mr. Dutton and explain, an' he'll have to give us our wages."

"Dutton ain't givin' nobody nuttin' till he gets good an' ready," said Martha angrily.

That same night when it was learned Granny had come back from the dead the excitement was tremendous. No one could sleep. The shouting and jubilation disturbed the Colonel and he damn, damn wanted to know what the noise was about and shouted for his servant Ben. Ben gave him the details of Granny's miracle and was driven from the Colonel's bedroom with curses for his trouble. Colonel Dutton then raised his ponderous self from his bed, put on a dressing gown and went to awaken his daughter Lucy. Lucy's temper was never much good, but this time she really outdid herself when awakened and blazed at her father, "Whattahell do you want?"

"Was that Granny Turner really dead?"

"Sure she's dead," Lucy snapped at him. "Ah examined an' . . ."

"Then how'd she come back to life?" the Colonel interrupted her.

Lucy looked at him puzzled for a moment then said, "How should ah know?"

"You never know a damned thing," and went to pound on Dr. Leonard's door.

Dr. Leonard had come from Gainesville to treat Colonel Dutton for a severe case of alcoholism and remained so late with his patient that he decided to stay till morning before he returned to his office. Perhaps Lucy was another reason why he stayed.

The doctor was an amiable sort of young man who was given to humoring his patients, and when the Colonel asked, "Doc, can a dead woman come back to life?", he smiled indulgently and replied, "That depends on how dead she was."

Colonel Dutton told him about Granny and then decided to send for her.

It was no simple matter to go to the Colonel's house and tell him what Granny wanted to tell him, not unless she was looking for serious trouble. But the Colonel had been like a festering sore on Granny's soul all her life and now she was beyond reason where he was concerned.

When she arrived at the Colonel's house, his maligning words and attitude helped her and this is the story she told:

The journey did not seem long to Granny. They drifted from sil-

ver to pink to mauve-grey clouds, always gaining altitude and then landed on St. Peter's golden sunburst of a cloud. Granny looked at the rows upon rows of angel clerks who kept the records, then gazed shyly at St. Peter. He smiled at her benignly. Granny smiled back at him and asked, "Tell me St. Peter, do y'all let crackers into heaven?"

"We do not recognize difference in race or nationality up here," replied St. Peter kindly.

Granny had so many questions and fearing that she would not get them all in burst out:

"Do you mean, they trample on us, lynch us, treat us like no human should be treated an' you let them into heaven?"

"They sound very ignorant. Why don't you educate them?" suggested St. Peter.

"Educate them?" asked Granny indignantly. "Theys got all the schools and won't let us have hardly any. An' they won't let us into their schools."

"They sound more barbaric than ever," said St. Peter, "You should civilize them, you know."

"But they got everything and won't let us do nothing . . ."

"But I thought you had a democracy there," said St. Peter.

"Democracy. No, suh, St. Peter, Thats the South. And if they is democracy they're 9 million Negroes an' never seen a hair or hide o' it."

Granny stopped, rather abashed at having argued with St. Peter. After a few moments St. Peter spoke as though he was thinking out loud:

"Human events are moving much faster in this century. Those who would keep men slaves decay and disintegrate more rapidly. Those who kill are killed more quickly. There are fifteen million of you. I'm sure that if you would work together you would soon civilize and educate them, so that we could save some of them from the devil."

Just then Granny heard a name being called, she turned and saw Jim Dutton approaching. When Jim got in he said to St. Peter, while pointing to Granny, "Why a white man can't get into Heaven and she a colored woman is gonna get in?"

"We are all color-blind up here," replied St. Peter sternly.

"But why ah can't get in?"

"We've been working our Angel clerks overtime but we can't seem to find a record of your birth and death. And you're only being shown this consideration because we're trying to break the monopoly the devil seems to have on you fellows."

Jim turned to Granny and pleaded: "Help me Granny Turner."

Granny asked indignantly, "Who'-se gonna help us, who can't celebrate the coming of the Lawd's Son because the Colonel won't pay us our wages?"

Turning to St. Peter she asked, "Is that gonna damn our people to everlasting torture in Hell?"

St. Peter looked at her for a moment and answered gravely:

"That's a judicial question and not in my province."

"Then I beg of you St. Peter. Do let me have a little more time on earth, so I can plead with this boy's father not to force my people to commit sin."

"Tell him that will help save my soul too," said Jim quickly, "and tell 'im Hoss Crawford shot me."

St. Peter motioned to the Angel who guided Granny to Heaven, and before she knew it, Granny was wafted from cloud to cloud, and landed in her bed.

At the end of Granny's story Colonel Dutton half rose in his chair and stormed, "You're a liar. Everything you said is a lie. Ah'll have you put in jail for this."

Granny smiled at the Colonel and said: "Why don't you call the Sheriff, Colonel? An' see effin your son ain' been killed.

Colonel Dutton glared at her. The doctor, who had been watching Granny closely during the telling of her story, turned to the Colonel and said:

"Better call the Sheriff, Colonel."

Colonel Dutton got the Sheriff on the phone and said: "This is Colonel Dutton. What happened to my son Jim . . . Why didn't you let me know? . . . Too late, heh. Who shot him? . . . You're a liar. Hoss Crawford killed him . . . You arrest Crawford on my warrant, ah don't care how many Crawfords are in this county. If you bring that colored boy to trial for killing my son, ah'll get the best lawyer in the county to make a fool of you and get the best detective in the South to get the evidence on Crawford . . . You better look into it."

The Colonel hung up the phone and muttered: "They can't do anything like this to mine and get away with it."

He then looked at the doctor and asked, "One drink, Doc, just one."

"I would advise against it."

"How'd you know about Hoss Crawford killin' my son Granny?"

"Ah don told you, he told me."

"Someone told you," the Colonel insisted.

Granny remained silent.

"An' if you don't tell me, you sure will tell the Sheriff."

"Ah wouldn't do such foolishment if I was you," said Granny smiling.

"Get out," the Colonel stormed at her. "Get out an' if you don' tell me what you know about the killin' of my son ah'll have the Sheriff on you, sure as you're born."

Knowing the Colonel's temper, Granny left without any further remonstrance. At home she found Tom Hunt and told him what had taken place at the Colonel's house, ending with: "At least, Dick Williams ain't got nothing more to worry 'bout."

"But you have," said Hunt pointedly.

Granny smiled enigmatically, "Maybe."

"Boy they sure ain't no fool like a woman fool."

"Colonel Dutton's a man," said Granny.

"An' he ain' no fool. He drink a lot, but he's sharp as a whip. He make his business an' everything he want pay, an' pay good. You just in bad woman, an' ah mean bad."

"Maybe, maybe. Better go tell Dick to come home an' tell him to keep his mouth shut tight."

"Ah tell him no such until ah see how the wind blow, But you better git from here. You in trouble. Ah got a sister up North . . ."

"Go on man. You tend to you business an' ah'll tend to mine."

Hunt heard a car and went to the door. He returned to Granny apprehensively and ordered her in the other room, but she refused to

go, so he slipped into the other room just as the Colonel and the Sheriff entered.

"Where's Dick Williams?' snapped the Sheriff.

"Ah' don' know where he is."

"You'all lying," said the Sheriff threateningly.

"You thought you could get me to believe that Hoss Crawford killed my son, and you knew that your grandson killed him," said the Colonel.

"Are you fixin' to take me to court Colonel?"

"We'll not only take y'all to court, but will hang you," gloated the Sheriff.

Granny could hardly restrain her anger.

"Your daughter examined me an' said ah was dead. She a nurse who worked in the war fo' three years. Mah folks hear her say ah was dead. When ah get into court ah tells mah story. The Church make me a miracle. The newspapers write about me. The radio talk about me. The woman who was dead an' come back to life."

"You're crazy. No one will believe your story," said the Colonel.

"Is your daughter goin' to say she make a mistake?" asked Granny.

"Sure," said the Colonel. "Even doctors make that mistake sometimes."

"But all the folks that got me ready for buryin' say ah was dead. An' ah thought maybe y'all wouldn't let me tell mah story so ah sent a letter to the head of mah church in New York an' tol' him that if anything happen to me to give that letter to the newspapers."

"She sho got us up a tree, Colonel," said the Sheriff.

The Colonel had recently seen a movie in which a young girl was said to have seen and spoken to Mary, the Holy Mother of God. The Story had swept the countryside. Every channel of communication had spread the story. The Colonel knew that if Granny's story got out, his shabby treatment of the Negroes, his drunkeness, and some unsavory personal deals would be publicized. He looked at Granny craftily and asked with some degree of kindness in his voice:

"Will you hush up about this if we don't take you to court?"

"No suh, Colonel," said Granny.

"What will make you hush up?" asked the Colonel grumpily.

"Let's see," said Granny with elaborate consideration. "Y'all pay the camp hands the wages coming to 'em." She pauses for a moment for further consideration, then continues, "An' give them all new overalls for Christmas, the women some cotton dresses, an' the young 'uns some toys."

"Why don't y'all take the camp, while you'r at it?" asked the Colonel angrily.

"Cause ah know y'all won't give me the camp, Colonel."

"Bring me a list to the house an' ah'll see about it. Tell Hunt to come up and get the camp hands pay."

The Colonel stalked out followed by the Sheriff. Hunt came out of the other room smiling and said:

"By the skin of your teeth woman, you is lucky."

Granny smiled and replied, "This is the best Christmas present ah ever had."

HAMPTON CONFERENCE

(*Continued from page* 374)

their own responsibility for completing the assimilation processes without which full democracy will never be achieved."

General conclusions of the conference were that the college, industry (in the sense of management) and labor would have to work together for the eventual integration of Negroes into industry. Industry and labor have begun to assume their responsibilities, and a good beginning is being made by the courts and the legislatures.

This increasing employment liberalism can be effectively used only if the college equips its graduates to compete on a basis of equality in an industry demanding skills, and not color.

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MERRIAM REVISITED

(*Continued from page* 371)

order, the three school board members were surprised to see only the two NAACP representatives and two other Negroes. The school board stated that they had received permission from the Supreme Court to build a $60,000 colored school, by spending $5,000 each year and completing it after twelve years. They showed no plans for the building, nor did they in any other way indicate their good intentions. The NAACP representatives announced that, in speaking for more than ninety-five percent of the Negro families, they wished to state that the colored children of Merriam were going to attend the South Park (white) school and that the school board was wasting its time and money.

The new principal, Charles H. Rutherford, acted in good faith on school registration day when every Negro child in the district enrolled in the South Park school. Despite charges of being everything from a "nigger lover" to a "Communist," he insisted on completely integrating the children, and for this deserves the greatest commendation. Meanwhile, the board opened the jim-crow school with its enlarged staff of three teachers. They sat patiently for two-and-a half days waiting in vain for a child to enroll. Not one student came.

MONEY NEEDED

The NAACP branch, though it has done a magnificent job, is still faced with many problems. Money

(*Continued on page* 425)

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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J. R. Booker
Century Building, Little Rock
Telephone: 2-4248

William A. Booker
Suite 410-12, 3456 S. State St., Chicago 16
Telephone: CAlumet 5-6914

Flowers, Flowers & Trimble
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephone: 919

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Mathews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews — David W. Williams
2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 1-9737—ADams 1-6712

ILLINOIS

Ellis & Westbrooks
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Telephone: CALumet 4968—4969

William Henry Huff
520 E. 35th St., Chicago 16
Telephone: OAK 6749

Loring B. Moore
180 W. Washington St., Suite 500
Chicago, Telephone RAndolph 6-1094

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427 W. 30th St., Indianapolis 8
Telephone: Wabash 1444

Henry J. Richardson, Jr.
157 N. Illinois St., Suites 208 & 209
Indianapolis 4
Telephone: Lincoln 2424-2425

KENTUCKY

Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
602 W. Walnut St., Louisville 3
Telephone: Jackson 6646 & Wabash 4765

MASSACHUSETTS

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Telephone: 32533

MICHIGAN

Herbert L. Dudley
4256 Russell St., Detroit 7
Telephone: Terrace 2-9134

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Ave., Grand Rapids 2
Telephone: 8-9042 or 8-6795

Smith and Brown
1000 Lawyer's Building
139 Cadillac Square, Detroit 26, Mich.
Telephone: Cadillac 2176

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23 Howard St., Newark 3
Telephone: MArket 3-4709

Logan W. McWilson
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Telephone: MArket 3-1779

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2270 East 55th St., Cleveland 3
Telephone: EXpress 3712-3713

Harry E. Davis
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Telephone: MAin 1320

Chester K. Gillespie
508 Public Sr. Bldg., Cleveland 14
Telephone: CHerry 1835

PENNSYLVANIA

Theodore Spaulding
154 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2
Telephone: LOcust 1317

TEXAS

F. S. K. Whittaker
711 Prairie Ave., Houston 2
Office: F4895; Home: F0853

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Reuben E. Lawson
403 Gainsboro Rd., N. W., Roanoke
Telephone: 9751

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WEST VIRGINIA

Willard L. Brown
Suite 202, Brown Building
Washington at Jacob St.
Charleston
Telephones: 30-341; 21-470

MERRIAM REVISITED

(*Continued from page* 423)

must still be raised to buy books for children who cannot afford them. One encouraging sign came from the white children themselves. Many of them offered to share their books with the colored children until their own could be obtained.

With the closing of the segregated school, the school board has more money with which to maintain and operate the South Park school and to make all the new additions which they could not afford in the past.

This story deserves to be told. Neither bloodshed nor rioting has resulted from the integration of the colored and white children. The only noticeable result is that the one school is bigger and better than it has ever been before and the children of both races are being benefited thereby and from their daily living in a democratic school community.

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by Arnold M. Rose—$2.50

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VOLUME 56 1949

ARTICLES

Allen, Birt S.: Building a Bank: Douglas State 14
American Negro in College, The..... 238
Aronson, Arnold and Samuel Spiegler: Does the Republican Party Want the Negro Vote? 364
Burke, Arthur E.: Standards in the Negro College 234
Burkhart, J. A.: The White Man's Primary 81
Callahan, Doris: Intergroup Relations Through Filmstrips 114
Charles, Joseph D.: Haiti on the Wings of Progress 207
Current, Gloster B.: Exit Jim-Crow Schools in New Jersey..... 10
Current, Gloster B.: Segregated Schools in East St. Louis..... 77
Davis, Frank M.: A Passage to Hawaii.. 296
Drake, St. Clair: A Report on the Brown Britishers 174
Dr. Arthur Ramos Dies..... 381
Felix Eboué and Schoelcher in Pantheon 210
Hampton Institute Inaugural Conference 372
Houston, Charles H.: Foul Employment Practice on the Rails..... 269
Ivy, James W.: Editors speak on the Senate Filibuster 170
Ivy, James W.: Florida's Little Scottsboro: Groveland 266
Johnson, Ernest E.: The Forrestal Record 202
Macrorie, Ken.: "Dr. Frank" of Chapel Hill 309
Macrorie, Ken.: The Meaning of Loyalty 47
Maran, René: Negro Humanism in French Letters 142
Mitchell, Clarence: Education Uaw Style 73
Moon, Henry Lee: What Chance for Civil Rights? 42
Moore, Clifford R.: Full Citizenship in New Jersey 272
Moore, Clifford R.: Segregation in Leo Rogers Homes 108
Moseley, John E.: Cancer and The Negro 138
Nascimento, Abdias: Brazilian Negro Experimental Theater 274
Nesbitt, George A.: Break up the Black Ghetto? 48
Owens, Iris V.: After I Moved In..... 144
Padmore, George: South African Race Riots 110
Parker, John W.: Chestnut as a Southern Town Remembers Him..... 205
Peck, James: The Proof of the Pudding 292
Record, Cy W.: Willie Stokes at the Golden Gate 175
Rosbrow, James M.: The "Abduction" of the Planter 106
Saenger, Gerhart: Customer Reaction to Negro Sales Personnel 80
Saunders, Scott J.: I Worked for a Negro Newspaper .....
Sculpture of Teodoro Ramos Blanco.... 15
Spingarn, Arthur B.: Books by Negro Authors in 1948 45
Valentry, Duane: Local Boy Makes Good 313
Villard, Oswald G.: Walter White—Courageous Statesman 18
Williams, F. & Earl Fultz: The Merriam School Fight 140
Williams, Franklin: Merriam Revisited.. 370
Wilson, Ruth D.: Negroes in Mixed Colleges 74

EDITORIALS

Ada Fisher Wins 201
All in Step Except The Army..... 201
And Now The Air Force..... 41
Armed Service Jim Crow Policy Ends.. 137
Army Still Out of Step..... 233
As We Look to The Japanese..... 201
Civil Rights Crusade 337
Firsts 41
Florida "Justice"..... 265
"Hail and Farewell" 233
Happy New Year 9
Harry T. Burleigh..... 265
Hastie Appointment 337
Jackie Does It Again..... 386
Non-Segregation Clauses 169
Oswald Garrison Villard..... 336
Our Graduates 233
Our New Format 336
Protestants Condemn Segregation..... 9
Robeson Speaks for Robeson..... 137
Runout 169
Senate Gives Filibusters Green Light... 105
Senate Shadow-Boxing 41
The Groveland Terror 233
The Mallard Disgrace 41
"The Moscow Ghetto" 386
The NAACP and The Communists..... 72
The Peekskill Riots 265
U. S. Acts Against Violence..... 201
You Can't Vote 9
"White Supremacy" 387

FICTION

Himes, Chester B.: Mama's Missionary Money 303
Morrell, Peter: Grandma Turner's Christmas Present 376

POETRY

Johnson, Loretta: Humility..... 352
Senghor, Leopold S.: To The American Negro Soldier 283

BOOK REVIEWS

Alexis, Stephen: Black Liberator..... 338
Bell, William K.: A Business Primer for Negroes 123
Berkowitz, David S.: Inequality of Opportunity in Higher Education..... 90
Bingham, Hiram: Lost City of The Incas 61
Blanche, Ernest E.: You Can't Win.... 340
Carneiro, Edison: Candombles da Bahia. 282
Cooper, Page: The Bellevue Story..... 61
Crite, Allen: Three Spirituals from Earth to Heaven 61
de Beauvoir, Simone: L'Amérique au Jour le Jour 27
Dollard, John: Caste and Class in a Southern Town 154
Dennis, Lorimer: Le Problème Des Classes à Travers L'Histoire D'Haiti.. 121
Frazier, Franklin E.: Inequality of Opportunity in Higher Education..... 90
Frazier, Franklin E.: The Negro in the United States 253
Golden, Dr. Francis Leo: For Doctors Only 90
Grodzins, Morton: Americans Betrayed.. 281
Guillén, Nicolás: Cuba Libre..... 220
Hughes, Langston & Bontemps, Arna: The Poetry of the Negro.. 122
Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials 154
Jiggets, J. Ida: Religion, Diet and Health of Jews 341
Johnstone, Frederick A.: Embers.. 61
Kesselman, Louis C.: The Social Politics of F.E.P.C. 89
Landis, Kenesaw M.: Segregation in Washington 90
Murray, Florence: The Negro Handbook 254
MacIver, R. M.: Discrimination and National Welfare 154
Mac-Lean y Estenos, Dr. Roberto: Negros En El Nuevo Mundo..... 121
Moon, Bucklin: Without Magnolias..... 187
Oak, Vishu V.: The Negro's Adventure in General Business..... 220
Rose, Arnold and Caroline: America Divided 89
Savoy, Willard: Alien Land..... 219
Schermerhorn, R. A.: These Our People 154
Spitz, David: Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought 341
Sprigle, Ray: In the Land of Jim Crow 186
Van Saher, Lilia: Macamba..... 341
Verissimo, Erico: A Volta Do Gato Preto 339
Wertham, Frederic: The Show of Violence 342
Wesley, Charles H.: The History of Alpha Phi Alpha..... 61

COVERS

January: Ernestine Henderson
February: William L. Dawson
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22-27; 55-60; 83-88; 116-121; 146-154; 182-186; 213-219; 246-253; 276-281; 343-352; 388-394.

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